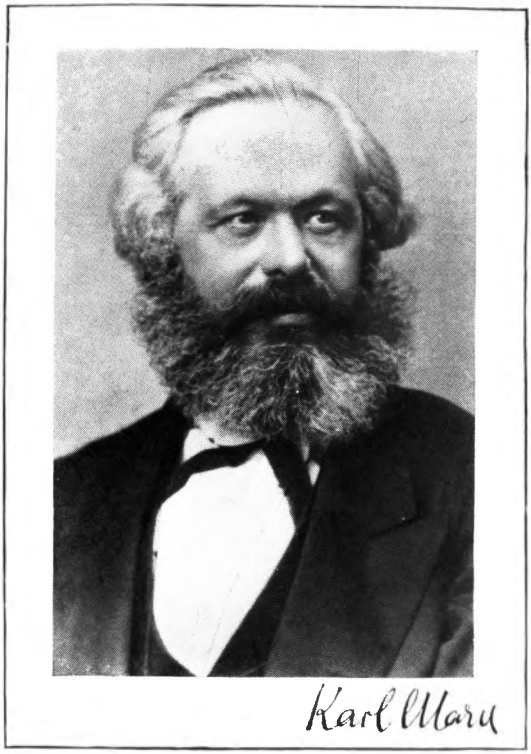
FOR ALL TIME AND ALL MEN

by

A. UROYEVA


Karl Marx

FOR ALL TIME AND ALL MEN

MOSCOW

A. UROYEVA

FOR ALL TIME AND ALL MEN

IMPORTED BY
IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, INC.
320 W. OHIO ST.
CHICAGO, ILL. 60610

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS · *MOSCOW*

Translated from the Russian by *David Fidlon*
Designed by *Yevgeny Gannushkin*

А. В. Уроева
КНИГА, ЖИВУЩАЯ В ВЕКАХ

На английском языке

First printing 1969

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CONTENTS

Introduction

Chapter I

The Most Terrible Missile Ever Fired at the Head of the Bourgeoisie 25

Chapter II

"The First Foreign Nation to Translate 'Capital' Were the Russians" (Marx) 75

Chapter III

The French Edition of "Capital" and Its Secret Reprinting 124

Chapter IV

Collective Work of the First Polish Socialists . . . 181

Chapter V

The English Edition of "Capital" 207

Conclusion 237

Supplement 246

INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 1967, progressive people throughout the world marked the centennial of the publication of Karl Marx's immortal work, Volume I of *Capital*.

Marx's associate and friend Frederick Engels characterised this work as follows: "As long as there have been capitalists and workers on earth, no book has appeared which is of such importance for the workers as the one before us. . . ."[1]

Capital is the firm foundation of the magnificent edifice of Marxism. Since its appearance it has been towering like a cliff blocking the way to all theories advanced by bourgeois ideologists in defence of capitalism.

Capital, "the political economy of the working class in its scientific expression", signified a revolution in economics, and was a gigantic step forward in the development of Marxism's other components: Marxist philosophy, and the teaching on proletarian revolution and the building of socialist society.

[1] F. Engels, *On Marx's "Capital"*, Moscow, 1965, p. 13.

In *Capital*, Marx, utilising a vast store of historical and statistical material, examined the nature of capitalism as a socio-economic formation, discovered the laws of its development, proved the transient character of capitalism and theoretically substantiated the inevitability of its replacement by a new and higher social system through revolution. He wrote: "The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. Thus integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."[1]

Marx exposed the basis of capitalist exploitation and disclosed the nature of class antagonism as a result of which the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in capitalist society ends in victory for the workers and leads to the abolition of classes and the building of a new socio-economic formation free of all exploitation.

In *Capital* Marx scientifically substantiated the historic mission of the working class—the builder of a new, communist society.

The appearance of *Capital* played a vital role in assuring the victory of the ideas of scientific communism over petty-bourgeois socialist theories and doctrines, over the teaching of Lassalle in Germany, Proudhonism and anarchism in Latin countries, and reformism in Britain and the USA, and laid bare reformist illusions and pseu-

[1] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, p. 763.

do-revolutionary phrasemongering of petty-bourgeois theoreticians. In his struggle against Narodism and "legal Marxism", to prove the validity of Marx's view concerning the revolutionary prospects in Russia, Lenin used Marx's and Engels's major writings, and, first and foremost, *Capital*, from which he quoted long excerpts having first translated them into Russian. Marx's name became especially popular in Russia following the appearance of the Russian edition of Volume I of *Capital*.

The publication of Volume I of *Capital* and its translation into other languages promoted the formation of national revolutionary parties of the working class in many countries.

Marx's economic teaching is an effective ideological weapon of the proletariat and its organisations, of all oppressed peoples in their fight against capitalist exploitation and social inequality.

This book recapitulates the history of publication, translation and spread of Volume I of *Capital* from the day it was published, September 14, 1867, to 1895, the year Frederick Engels died. In these years Volume I appeared in 17 editions in eight countries and in nine languages. Moreover, in this period the second and third volumes and a Russian translation of Volume II of *Capital* were published. (See table on p. 10.)

This is the first attempt in Marxist historiography to deal with these matters in their interrelation, and, being a general review, it does not claim to be an exhaustive study of the subject.

This book dwells in greater detail on the first German edition of Volume I of *Capital*, on the Russian translation—the first translation made—

Editions of "Capital" in the period between 1867 and 1895

Edition	Number of editions			Notes
	Vol. I	Vol. II	Vol. III	
German	4	2	1	Vol. III published in 1896
Russian	1	1	1	
French	2	—	—	
Polish	1	—	—	
Danish	1	1	—	
Italian	1	—	—	
Spanish	1	—	—	Incomplete; only 245 pp.
English	5	—	—	
Dutch	1	—	—	Only one instalment, 34 pp.
	17	4	1	

the authorised French edition, the Polish translation made in the Kingdom of Poland and published in Germany, and the English translation which was edited by Frederick Engels and published after Marx's death.

Marx and Engels always devoted much attention to the publication and translation of *Capital* into other languages and to propagandising it in the press. Work on Volume II was still in full swing when Marx began revising Volume I for publication in French and when Engels was editing its English version. Marx willingly advised Herman Lopatin, one of the Russian translators of *Capital*, and in turn took into account the latter's remarks. Both Marx and Engels corresponded extensively with translators, such as Nikolai Danielson, Joseph Roy and Ludwik Krzywicki, and gave them expert advice. Engels worked

painstakingly with the English translators and organised the publication of the English edition.

Engels contributed greatly to the preparation of the third and fourth editions of Volume I of *Capital* for print. Until his dying day he considered it his most important task to propagandise Marx's brilliant work. He frequently reviewed it for publications of diverse political trends. All of this is an important part of the biographies of the founders of Marxism and consequently merits close study.

Some translations, among them the French and English, have a long and complicated prehistory whose numerous peripeteia Marx and Engels followed with interest. They directly helped solve most of the translation problems.

They were also concerned with the form in which *Capital* was published. Marx twice consented to have it published in instalments, thus making its purchase easier for the workers. In this respect the second German and the first French editions which came out in instalments, served as an example for the Polish and Dutch editions.

Marx and Engels greatly assisted in preparing abridged versions for publication, and introduced corrections into manuscripts prepared by Gabriel Deville, Johann Most, Ferdinand Nieuwenhuis and others. The abridged editions of *Capital*, popularly expounding the subject of the book, in no small measure helped popularise and spread Marx's economic theory.

Of considerable interest are the methods which were employed in different countries to popularise *Capital*.

Among those who helped to spread the work were Russian, French, German, Polish, English

and other translators, publishers and booksellers, among them Herman Lopatin, Nikolai Danielson and Nikolai Lyubavin; Charles Keller and Joseph Roy; Stanislaw Krusiński, Ludwik Krzywicki, Kazimierz Plawiński and Mieczyslaw Brzeziński; Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling; Otto Meissner, Nikolai Polyakov, Alexander Cherkesov, Maurice Lachâtre and Henri Oriol. For many of them participation in the publication of *Capital* was the first step towards socialism.

Marx's method of spreading the book by sending author's copies and separate instalments to those who wanted to study his economic teaching and bring it to the attention of their fellow party members proved to be very effective in conditions of the repressions to which the French Government resorted following the suppression of the Paris Commune and during the operation of the discriminatory legislation against socialists in Germany.

In view of the political situation at the time, Marx, Engels and their supporters were not always in a position to popularise *Capital* extensively, so they did the next best thing by publishing separate chapters or excerpts in newspapers in France and Germany as well as in other countries. The excerpts they selected for publication dealt with the most urgent problems of the working-class movement, as, for example, the length of the working day. This was the theme of the leaflet issued by the New York section of the International, which was distributed in the city in 1871 during a demonstration for the introduction of an eight-hour working day.

The propaganda of *Capital* was international in character, because it was carried on by the

foremost representatives of the progressive intelligentsia and the international working-class movement, such as Friedrich Lessner, Friedrich Sorge and Johann Becker; Russian revolutionaries Herman Lopatin, Vera Zasulich and Georgi Plekhanov; brilliant leaders of German Social-Democracy Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel, doctor Ludwig Kugelmann; functionaries of the French Workers' Party Paul Lafargue, Jules Guesde, Edouard Vaillant, Gabriel Deville; English socialists Eleanor and Edward Aveling, Harry Quelch and William Morris.

An important role in spreading *Capital* was played by propaganda conducted in the form of special lectures and reports delivered by Social-Democrats in different countries. The text of these lectures was often handed over to Marx for approval. This intensive propaganda paved the way for spreading the book among progressive workers and intellectuals.

The distribution of *Capital* was conducted in various forms : the organisation of advance subscriptions to *Capital* in Geneva, Paris and Warsaw; the printing of extra copies of separate instalments of the second German edition and the spread of dozens of reprints of reviews of the book in Germany; the polemic aroused by the book in Russia, which helped disseminate Marx's economic theory.

Thus, a diversity of ways and opportunities for acquainting the workers with Marxist political economy was employed.

The spread of *Capital* was closely bound up with the growth of the international working-class and socialist movement and depended on its peculiarities in each country. Nevertheless, despite the different historical conditions, the

appearance of *Capital* in one or another language always stimulated the working-class and liberation movements.

The information this book gives about the editions of *Capital* published during the lifetime of Marx and Engels illustrates Lenin's thesis that the victory of Marxism in the working-class movement had in the main been completed by the 1890s. He wrote: "Even in the Latin countries, where the traditions of Proudhonism held their ground longest of all, the workers' parties in effect built their programmes and their tactics on Marxist foundations."[1]

In 1867, Volume I of *Capital* was published in an edition of 1,000 copies in Germany. The total number of copies of the book published during the lifetime of Marx and Engels was hardly above 50,000. Marx's name was not widely known then. Today *Capital* and its popular versions are published in different languages throughout the world.

By January 1, 1967, the three volumes of *Capital* were published in the U.S.S.R. 165 times in 18 languages in a total of over six million copies.

Marx considered the elaboration of the economic theory of the proletariat his principal task and his duty to the party. It took him many years to create *Capital*, his major work, which, as Engels justifiably noted, in all its parts was the lifetime effort of a brilliant thinker.

Marx was more than just a profound thinker; he was also a great revolutionary in practice who combined work on evolving the ideological weapon of the proletariat with active participation

---

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 32.

in the revolutionary struggle. He worked on theoretical problems with varying intensity, depending on the tasks which the revolutionary movement posed before him.

According to Marx himself, he became interested in political economy in the 1840s when, as a young man (he was not yet 25), he became one of the editors of the *Rheinische Zeitung* published in Köln. The newspaper was founded by a group of the bourgeoisie which opposed Prussian absolutism. With Marx as one of its editors, the paper acquired an increasingly revolutionary-democratic character. It heatedly discussed freedom of trade, the condition of the peasantry and other urgent problems, thus coming into conflict with the government which eventually closed it down. It was the elaboration of these themes that, according to Marx, provided the first occasions for occupying himself with economic questions.[1]

Marx and Engels formed their militant partnership in Paris in 1844. Still earlier they entered into correspondence with each other. In September 1844, they commenced work on the book *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Critique*[2] in which they laid down the principles underlying their revolutionary-materialist views. Back in 1843, Engels published his *Notes for Critique of Political Economy*, which Marx subsequently referred to as brilliant notes. Lenin wrote that "contact with Engels was undoubtedly a factor in Marx's decision to study political economy,

[1] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 362.

[2] "The Holy Family"—a humorous nickname bestowed upon the idealist philosophers the Bauer brothers and their followers.

the science in which his works have produced a veritable revolution".[1]

In the period from 1844 to 1847, during which he lived in Paris, Brussels, London and Manchester, Marx studied economic literature, reading the works of some 70 authors, including Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Thompson, Senior, Owen, Quesnay, and made abstracts of books on economic history.

He summed up the first results of his economic studies in *The Poverty of Philosophy*, a polemical work directed against the anarchist Proudhon (1847). The same year Marx delivered a series of lectures on "Hired Labour and Capital" in a German workers' society in Brussels. In 1849, these lectures were published in the form of editorials in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Marx interrupted his systematic study of political economy in connection with the revolutionary developments of 1848-1849. Following the 1848 revolution in France, revolutions occurred in other West European countries. Marx and Engels returned to Germany and headed the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the finest and unsurpassed organ of the revolutionary proletariat, as Lenin called it.

In the revolutionary movement Marx and Engels represented the position of the most progressive class—the proletariat—and were the heart and soul of all the revolutionary-democratic aspirations in Rhenish Prussia. They upheld the interests of the people, their freedom. But reaction won in this unequal battle, and the newspaper was closed down.

After the defeat of the revolution Marx set-

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 24.

tled in London, having lost the right to be a Prussian subject while living in emigration. Following the victory of the counter-revolution, Engels, who had taken part in the popular armed uprising, fled to Switzerland from where he moved to London and later to Manchester. Years of reaction ensued.

In London Marx resumed his study of political economy, devoting much time to it, particularly in the period between 1850 and 1857. In these years he filled dozens of thick notebooks with remarks and excerpts—the result of his intensive work in the library of the British Museum.

Marx studied different problems of political economy (money circulation, banks, crises, land rent, etc.) and collected a wealth of information concerning the history of this science. The economic crisis of 1857 prompted him to systematise the material he had studied. He closely followed the crisis, registered its development in different countries from newspaper reports and asked Engels to send him the information he needed from Manchester.

On December 8, 1857, Marx wrote to Engels that he "worked like mad sitting up nights, summing up his economic studies, so as to have a clear idea of at least the principal problems before the deluge descends". He was in a hurry to provide the fighting proletariat with a powerful theoretical weapon before the "deluge", i.e., before the revolutionary outburst.

From October 1857 to June 1858 Marx worked on a manuscript of about 50 signatures; he was the first in history to thoroughly elaborate the theory of value and the theory of surplus-value. This was his second great discovery after evolving the materialist understanding of history. This

manuscript was first published in the original by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1939-1941 under the title *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* (*Rohentwurf*).[1]

Marx's abstracts and monographic studies dealing with different problems of political economy were not intended for publication. He needed them "for self-clarification".[2]

At first Marx planned to publish his economic studies in separate instalments under the heading *On the Critique of Political Economy*. But later he repeatedly changed his mind, searching for a more appropriate form of publishing his work.

In 1858, he decided to issue it in several separate books: 1. *On Capital*. 2. *On Property in Land*. 3. *On Hired Labour*. 4. *On the State*. 5. *On International Trade*. 6. *On the World Market*. Besides, Marx planned to publish two separate books containing a critical essay on the history of political economy and an outline of the history of the development of economic categories and relations.

In 1859, the Duncker Publishing House in Berlin issued, as the first instalment of this work, the book *On the Critique of Political Economy*, which was an important stage in the formation and further development of Marx's economic teaching and in the critique of bourgeois political economy.

Superbly employing the materialist dialectical method, Marx disclosed the dual nature of commodities and the contradiction existing between

[1] In the GDR this edition was reproduced in phototype in 1953.

[2] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 361.

use-value and commodity-value. By analysing the relationship between commodities and money he showed that this contradiction grows and becomes more apparent. In his opinion the commodity was like a cell of bourgeois society, containing the embryo of all its basic contradictions of bourgeois society. He took the first and simplest economic relation and analysed it from the moment when products were first exchanged between individuals or primitive communes. Political economy, he stressed, treats of relations between people and, in the long run, of relations between whole classes, and not of things. Marx's work also pursued polemic aims—to destroy the foundation of "the Proudhonist socialism now fashionable in France".[1]

Marx's famous Preface to this work has independent scientific significance. It contains an integral formulation of "the fundamental principles of materialism as applied to human society and its history".[2] It sets forth historical materialism's basic thesis that the mode of production of material life determines the social, political and spiritual processes in human society, and that all social relations, legal systems and theoretical outlooks can be understood only when the material conditions of each corresponding epoch have been understood.

Marx founded his theoretical conclusions in the sphere of political economy chiefly on facts gleaned from British reality, because Britain at the time was a classical capitalist country, a country which "has seen developed on the greatest scale the despotism of Capital and the slavery

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 113.

[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 55.

of Labour".[1] He explained that there is no avoiding the operation of the general laws of capitalism and that "the country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future."[2]

While working on *Capital*, Marx encountered many obstacles. In 1860 he had to interrupt his economic research in connection with the campaign raised against him by Karl Vogt.

Vogt, a German scientist, joined the revolution in 1848-1849 as a petty-bourgeois democrat. His booklet *My Case Against the "Allgemeine Zeitung"* in which he juggled facts and resorted to fabrications, was an attempt to discredit Marx and his associates and to present their activity in a false light. The German bourgeois press caught up Vogt's slanderous attacks. Marx regarded Vogt's campaign as an attempt to deal a decisive blow to the emerging proletarian party and to degrade it morally in the eyes of society.

Marx lost almost a year of his valuable time compiling a pamphlet entitled *Herr Vogt*. It was written when the proletariat's revolutionary struggle was on the upsurge following the economic crisis of 1857-1858, and when Marx and Engels intensified their efforts to muster, consolidate and educate revolutionary cadres. By repelling Vogt's campaign of slander Marx intended to bring the great and pure cause of the revolutionary party to the knowledge of the masses and prevent its adversaries from besmirching it.

In his reply to Vogt Marx not only unmasked his false assertions but also gave a truthful

[1] K. Marx, "The Labour Parliament", *The People's Paper*, No. 98, March 18, 1854.

[2] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, pp. 8-9.

picture of the development of the international communist movement.

Permeated with a militant party spirit and uncompromising in its attitude to the enemies of the proletarian movement, Marx's pamphlet was an example of passionate defence of the interests of the working class and a devastating rebuff to communism's enemies.

All the arguments advanced in the pamphlet were based on relevant documents: it took Marx a long time to collect the necessary material through correspondence with many people and newspaper editors. Were it not for Vogt and his followers, Marx would have had devoted all of this time to his economic studies.

In the middle of 1861, Marx resumed work on *Capital*. But he did not work hastily. His scientific conscientiousness was exceptional indeed. Before arriving at a conclusion he would go through mountains of books, he systematically checked his conclusions and rewrote those parts of his work which did not satisfy him. "Whatever shortcomings my works may have," Marx wrote to Engels on July 31, 1865, "they have that artistic entirety which can be achieved only by my method of not sending them to print until they lie before me *as a whole*."

Franz Mehring, a German historian and authority on world literature, considered the author of *Capital* one of the best German writers of the 19th century. Wilhelm Liebknecht considered that Marx was a brilliant master of German prose.[1]

Towards the close of 1862, Marx decided to

[1] See *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, 1957, p. 104.

publish his work under the heading *Capital*. It would contain a description of the system of bourgeois political economy, while the critique in it would be indicated in the sub-title. Marx maintained that in a way Volume I of *Capital* was a continuation of his *On the Critique of Political Economy*; yet he believed it necessary to summarise it in chapters I and III of his new work.

Early in 1863, Marx began to put this plan into effect; he fundamentally revised separate parts and supplemented the already accumulated material with new data and conclusions. He worked in the library of the British Museum during the day and wrote at night. This intensive work was done in the period when, according to Lenin, "the revival of the democratic movements in the late fifties and in the sixties recalled Marx to practical activity"[1] as the head of the first international mass proletarian organisation—the First International. This organisation was a landmark in the development of the international working-class movement which, under the guidance of Marx and Engels, took a great step forward towards linking up with scientific communism. Engels was absolutely correct when he wrote to Lafargue that Marx's life without the International "would be a diamond ring with the diamond broken out".[2]

Marx's activity as organiser, theoretician and leader of the International consumed a great deal of his time, forcing him to postpone the elaboration of his economic teaching.

---

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 49.

[2] Engels to L. Lafargue, June 24, 1883, Central Party Archives of the CC CPSU, Institute of Marxism-Leninism (CPA IML), fund 1, file 1, No. 6135.

Towards the close of December 1865, he completed a rough draft of *Capital*. On February 13, 1866, he wrote to Engels: "Although the manuscript is ready, it is of such gigantic proportions, that no one except myself, not even you, will be able to publish it."

Engels advised Marx first to prepare Volume I for publication and then go on with the rest of the work. Accordingly, Marx started to prepare a clean copy of Volume I, simultaneously improving its style, or, as he put it, "licking the baby clean after such difficult delivery". But the realisation of even this reduced plan was a terrible strain. Overwork undermined his health. He suffered terribly from prolonged furunculosis, rheumatism, liver trouble and insomnia, which impeded his work.

The first signs of overwork and undernourishment made themselves felt in 1863. He endured a particularly serious spell of illness in the beginning of 1866. This is what he wrote at the time: "... I was constantly hovering at the edge of the grave. Hence I had to make use of *every* moment when I was able to work to complete my book, to which I have sacrificed health, happiness, and family."[1]

In addition to ill health, Marx was constantly beset with financial difficulties. He received very little for his books. Neither could he count on having his articles printed in the press. For several years he was a correspondent of the *New York Daily Tribune*, and the money he received for the articles he wrote for the paper was his main source of income. But that too came to an end in

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 165.

1861 following the outbreak of the Civil War in America.

Die Presse, an Austrian liberal bourgeois newspaper, was also not too willing to publish Marx's articles and enlisted his services only in 1861-1862 when it was adhering to anti-Bonapartist positions.

To make both ends meet Marx undertook minor, uninteresting work and even intended to get a job at a railway office, but was refused because of his poor handwriting. In 1863 the family temporarily emerged from need when Marx came into his share of inheritance following the death of his mother. In 1864 he received a substantial sum bequeathed him by his close friend Wilhelm Wolff. The same year Engels became co-owner of the firm Ermen & Engels, which allowed him to furnish greater assistance to his friend. All this made life easier for Marx and enabled him to devote more time to his work on *Capital*. Finally, by the spring of 1867 the manuscript of Volume I had been completed.

CHAPTER I

THE MOST TERRIBLE MISSILE EVER FIRED AT THE HEAD OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The close of the 1860s was marked by an event of historic importance—the publication of Volume I of *Capital.*

Marx worked on his economic theory for several decades, and the completion of *Capital* was postponed from month to month and from year to year.

At long last, however, it was finished. On April 2, 1867, Marx completed the manuscript of Volume I. Now he was confronted with new difficulties connected with the publication of the work. He failed to have it printed by the large Brockhaus Publishers in Leipzig, although talks with the firm proceeded from the middle of 1861 to the beginning of 1863. Finally, in 1865, Marx came to an agreement with the small publishing firm of Otto Meissner in Hamburg.[1] Marx con-

[1] Meissner und Behre, Hamburg—the full name of the firm printed on a bill sent by Meissner to Marx on October 7, 1869, CPA IML, fund 1, file 3, No. 245.

Other works by Marx and Engels published by Meissner included three editions of Marx's *The Eighteenth*

tacted this firm through Wilhelm Strohn, an employee of a Bradford trading company, who frequently came to Hamburg on business. Marx first met Strohn when the latter was member of the Communist League. Subsequently Strohn helped Marx to collect material for the Köln trial of Communists. At the close of January 1865, Strohn reached a preliminary agreement with Meissner concerning the terms on which the book would be published. The text of the contract, which was enclosed in a letter to Marx from Meissner, dated March 21, 1865, envisaged the publication of two volumes of the book each consisting of 50 signatures.[1] Instead of a honorarium Marx would receive half the profits from the book. At the same time Meissner undertook to absorb whatever losses might be incurred. The contract specified that the design of the book would be subject to an arrangement between the author and the publisher, but the latter alone would determine its price and organise its sales. The author would get 10 copies free of charge. The last clause stipulated that the manuscript had to be submitted to the publisher in May 1865 and that the book would be issued in October of the same year. There was no date on the contract, neither was there any mention of the order in which the author was to submit the manuscript to

---

Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (1869, 1885, 1907) and two booklets by Engels: *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* (1865) and *Brentano Contra Marx* (1891). All the following editions of the three volumes of *Capital* up to 1914 were invariably published by Meissner. These included seven editions of Volume I (1867-1914), four editions of Volume II (1885-1910) and two editions of Volume III (1894-1904).

[1] O. Meissner to K. Marx, March 21, 1865. CPA IML, fund 1, file 3, No. 61.

the publisher. Meissner left this to the discretion of the author who could either submit it in parts or *in toto*.

Marx could avail himself of the contract only two years after it had been signed. He had to go to Hamburg to talk to Meissner who could have refused to publish the book pending receipt of Volume II. On April 10, 1867, in stormy weather, Marx boarded a ship in London and two days later arrived in Hamburg where he handed over the manuscript to the publisher. Following brief negotiations "the manuscript was promptly delivered to the publishing house and locked in the safe". Meissner assured Marx that the book would go to press within a few days. "In any case," Marx wrote to Engels on April 13, 1867, "in Meissner *we* have a man who is completely at our disposal."

Meissner, however, was unable to print the book because of a shortage of printers and qualified proof-readers, so the manuscript was sent to the Otto Wigand publishers in Leipzig which had brought out the works of the materialist philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach. In the 1840 Wigand was connected with bourgeois radicals and idealist philosophers Arnold Ruge, Bruno Bauer and others. From 1832 to 1844 Wigand also published magazines. The authorities frequently confiscated books printed by Wigand because of the authors' oppositional views.

In 1845 and 1848 this firm published two editions of Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Marx was also acquainted with Wigand and used his good offices to forward to another publisher the plan for organising a theatrical newspaper which he intended to issue in his younger days. In 1852 Marx suggested to Wigand

that he publish his economic work, but the latter refused point blank fearing the risk this might entail.[1] When *Capital* was being printed Wigand was well advanced in years; "the vainglorious old man plays only a nominal part in the business" (that was what Marx said about him), while the publishing house was run by his son.

Meissner asked Marx to stay in Germany and read the proofs of the first sheets to ascertain whether the book could be printed after the author's single reading. Wigand sent the book to press only on April 29. It is noteworthy that Marx received the first proof-sheet on May 5, 1867, the day he turned 49. Marx stayed on in Germany for about six weeks, living most of the time in Hannover at Dr. Kugelmann's who was a friend of his. Informing Engels about this, Marx wrote on May 7, 1867: "Still, my time was not wholly wasted. Letters were sent everywhere, and many German newspapers published notices (about the forthcoming appearance of *Capital—A.U.*)." He could not stay there for a long period. To check some quotations he needed a copy of the manuscript which was in London. In addition, Meissner asked him to have the manuscript of Volume II ready by the end of autumn.

During the printing of the book Marx constantly expressed his dissatisfaction with the printshop for delays and misprints. He was also vexed with Wigand for reducing the list of errors without first consulting him,[2] and with the slow-moving Meissner. He was also annoyed by the

---

[1] O. Wigand to K. Marx, March 20, 1852, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 478.

[2] Wigand returned the manuscript of Volume I to Meissner. In 1929 Meissner's grandson presented it to the Archive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

irregular delivery of proofs which distracted him from other work and kept him in constant suspence. Nevertheless, in June Marx returned to the publishers the 14th proof-sheet, in July the 32nd,[1] and in August he was already checking the proofs of the Preface. At 2 a.m. on August 16, having corrected the last, the 49th proof-sheet, Marx wrote to Engels: "So *this volume is finished.* It was thanks to *you* alone that this became possible. Without your self-sacrifice for me I could never possibly have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks."[2]

While writing *Capital,* Marx consulted with Engels and heeded his advice. He sent him the final proofs on which Engels made his corrections, notes and sometimes even additions. Marx agreed with Engels that it was necessary to provide the work with additional explanations about the various forms of value and sent him the text of the supplement to show how scrupulously he followed his advice.[3]

To all of Marx's questions Engels gave detailed answers substantiated by calculations. After looking through about 35 signatures he said he admired the author's terminology and his method of projecting his thoughts. Engels held that dialectical development was much more clearly expounded in *Capital* than in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*[4] But he was not satisfied with the "external subdivision" of the book, particularly of the fourth chapter. He be-

---

[1] O. Meissner to K. Marx, July 31, 1867, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1720.

[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Moscow, 1965, pp. 191-92.

[3] Ibid., p. 190.

[4] Ibid., p. 186.

lieved, for instance, that it was necessary to have more captions within sections so that the principal parts should stand out more prominently. Engels summarised his remarks as follows in a letter to Marx on August 23, 1867: "Judging by the *external* form of exposition, this fourth chapter was apparently written faster than the others and was not so thoroughly edited. But all this is of no importance. The main thing is that Messrs. economists will not find a single weak spot which they could breach . . . they will find nothing to pick on."

Engels wrote to Marx on June 24, 1867, that in his opinion, the best chapters as regards exposition and content were those treating of the transformation of money into capital and of the appearance of surplus-value. Engels warned Marx in his letter of September 1, 1867, that some materials were too hastily written and inadequately elaborated.

In addition to the constant assistance furnished by Engels, Marx was greatly helped by his wife. Eleanor, Marx's youngest daughter, wrote in her reminiscences that he "could never have been what he was without Jenny von Westphalen".[1] Jenny knew his scientific interests and assisted him in every way. She rewrote his almost indecipherable manuscripts and business papers and conducted his correspondence. Particularly great difficulties fell on her shoulders when it became necessary hastily to collect documents and materials in defence of the Communists in the Köln trial and for Marx's polemic work against Karl Vogt. In a letter sent to Ludwig Kugelmann on

---

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, 1957, p. 254.

December 24, 1867, in which she wrote about *Capital*, the staunch and brave Jenny could not suppress an anguished cry: "... it is doubtful whether any other book was written in more difficult conditions, and I could well write the secret history of its creation which would have revealed endless concealed anxieties, worries and suffering."

Jenny was worried about the delay in the preparation of *Capital* and, realising its meaning and significance, urged her husband to hasten its completion.

That Marx was writing a book on political economy was known not only to a small circle of friends, but also to the functionaries of the First International, to socialists in many countries, particularly in Germany. Forward-thinking workers also knew that he was writing a work on economics and were acquainted with some of its propositions. Therefore the publication of *Capital* did not come as a surprise to them. In the autumn of 1850 Marx received a letter from the Köln Workers' Union informing him that his *Political Economy* was awaited with impatience and requesting him to accelerate its completion in view of its great significance for propagandists.

Wilhelm Liebknecht also informed Marx that the German workers had become acquainted with his economic theory. "Your name is well known to German workers," he wrote to Marx in 1865. "If you could come here for a couple of weeks and read popular lectures on economic subjects you would have an audience of thousands. Workers say: how great it would have been if Marx was here."[1]

[1] W. Liebknecht to K. Marx, About or on March 19, 1865, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1550.

Marx helped popularise the ideas of *Capital* among the workers in the course of his work in the International. *Capital* was of decisive significance for the elaboration of the socialist programme which was accompanied by struggle and discussions in the General Council and at the congresses of the International. He acquainted the members of the General Council with the key propositions of his economic theory before the book had come off the press.

At the meetings of the Council on June 20 and 27, 1865, Marx entered into polemics with one of its members John Weston, an Owenist, whose views, in Marx's opinion, were "theoretically false and practically dangerous".[1] Upholding the erroneous thesis that a raise in wages did not improve workers' conditions because it led to higher prices, Weston arrived at the conclusion that the struggle of the trade unions, including their fight for higher wages, is harmful. Marx denounced the bourgeois understanding of this question which was shared by Weston, a certain section of the workers and Lassalle's supporters. He made a popularly-worded brilliant theoretical analysis of capitalist economic relations underlying the class domination of the bourgeoisie and explained why in capitalist conditions wages are the transformed value of labour power, showed the origin and the essence of surplus-value and made it clear that it was necessary to abolish the system of hired labour. All these questions were further elaborated in *Capital.*

The members of the General Council knew that Marx was working on *Capital* from discus-

---

[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 398.

Otto Meissner

Börsenblatt

für den

Deutschen Buchhandel und die mit ihm verwandten Geschäftszweige.

Herausgegeben vom Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler.

№ 214. Leipzig, Sonnabend den 14. September. 1867.

O. Meißner in Hamburg.

7571. Marx, K., das Kapital. Kritik der polit. Oekonomie. 1. Bd. Buch 1.: Der Produktionsprocess d. Kapitals. gr. 8. Geh. 3⅓ ₰

Publisher's advertisement concerning the appearance of "Capital", Vol. I

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band.

Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung wird vorbehalten.

Hamburg
Verlag von Otto Meissner.
1867.

New-York: L. W. Schmidt, 24 Barclay-Street.

Title page of the first German edition of "Capital", Vol. I

sions on political economy at its meetings and also from personal talks with Marx himself.

Shortly before the book came off the press, Meissner made several reprints of part of the Preface containing Marx's revolutionary conclusions with the intention of sending them to the newspapers.[1] Although he did not send them promptly, some newspapers published the Preface before the book itself was printed.[2] On August 1, 1867, Meissner inserted in the Leipzig *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel* a notice announcing the forthcoming publication of *Capital*.

Similar notices and advertisements and a part of the Preface were also carried by *Der Vorbote*, a monthly magazine which was published in Geneva in 1866-1871. Its editor Johann Philipp Becker participated in the German revolution of 1848-1849 and was a close friend and associate of Marx and Engels. Until the founding of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1869, *Der Vorbote* was the organising centre for the German sections of the International in Germany. Through this magazine Becker organised a preliminary subscription for Volume I of *Capital*, publishing an appeal to all sections of the International and associated societies.[3]

Volume I of *Capital*, consisting of 49 signatures, came off the press in Hamburg on September 14, 1867, in an edition of 1,000 copies. Marx was not in London at the time. He was in Manchester with his son-in-law Paul Lafargue. Five days

---

[1] O. Meissner to K. Marx, August 13, 1867, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1725.

[2] *Die Zukunft*, September 4, 1867; *Der Beobachter*, September 7, 1867; *The Bee-hive*, September 7, 1867.

[3] *Der Vorbote*, 1867, No. 4.

after the publication of *Capital* Meissner informed Marx that in compliance with his wish he had sent the book to the poet Karl Siebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, the economist Karl Wilhelm Contzen, and others. He also said that in the preceding month he had inserted in the press some 50 advertisements about *Capital* and promised to send him the favourable reviews run by the newspapers *Frankfurter Bank und Handelszeitung* and *Hannoversche Volkszeitung*.[1]

Marx dedicated *Capital* to his friend Wilhelm Wolff, the "intrepid, faithful, noble protagonist of the proletariat".

Wilhelm Wolff (1809-1864), a journalist and one of the first German Communists, devoted his life to the struggle against Prussian despotism. His passionate articles in the press won him respect and popularity among the masses.

Hounded by the Prussian government he had to leave his native Silesia. But wherever he lived, whether in Berlin, London or Brussels, he was always the tribune of the proletarian party. His meeting with Marx and Engels in Brussels in 1846 was the beginning of their close friendship and joint revolutionary activity. Wolff was liked for his integrity, unshakable staunchness and for his rigorous exactingness towards himself and others. Even his enemies conceded him his charm, moral purity and modesty.

Wolff returned to Germany in the stormy year of 1848 and plunged into the vortex of revolutionary developments. He worked tirelessly with Marx and Engels on the editorial board of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. When the revolution

---

[1] O. Meissner to K. Marx, November 19, 1867, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1768.

was defeated, Wolff left Köln and lived in Switzerland and England, moving from town to town until he finally settled down in Manchester in 1853. The privations endured in gaols and in emigration coupled with intense work undermined his health. He died following a prolonged and painful ailment.

Wolff did not live to see the founding of the First International, the historic milestone in the development of the working-class movement. His death, which came on May 9, 1864, was a serious blow to Marx and Engels, to the working-class movement. "In his person Marx and I lost a most faithful friend, while the German revolution lost a man of unequalled value," wrote Engels in Wolff's biography.

The dedication to Wilhelm Wolff in *Capital* is followed by Marx's Preface dated July 25, 1867. In it Marx referred to *Capital* as the continuation of his earlier work, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, and emphasised that *Capital* dealt with the capitalist mode of production and the corresponding relations of exchange. He explained why he began his study by analysing commodity and led the reader to the understanding of the objective nature of the laws of capitalism which develop independently of people's consciousness and will.

When *Capital* was published at the close of the 1860s, Germany was in the midst of an extensive industrial revolution. Large-scale factory production was gaining ground in all branches of industry. Coal production increased rapidly, and the output of pig iron and steel was also growing. Railway construction was conducted on an extensive scale, and there was a steady growth in the number of banks and joint-stock companies. All

these facts bore witness to the numerical growth of the working class and its concentration in major industrial centres.

But notwithstanding the increasing rates of industrialisation, the completion of the industrial revolution was delayed because of the political and economic fragmentation of the country and also because the development of capitalism in agriculture was following the "Prussian path".

The swift development of capitalism urgently posed the question of Germany's national unification. German workers actively joined in the general democratic movement for the country's unification. This unification could be accomplished either from below, i.e., by means of a revolution carried out by the masses, which would lead to the establishment of a democratic republic, or from above, with the result that the Junkers and the militarists would remain in power in a united Germany.

Fighting for Germany's democratic unification, the progressive workers gradually shed the influence of the bourgeoisie in both organisational and political respects. In this they were helped by the All-German Workers' Union founded by Ferdinand Lassalle in 1863.

Lassalle should be given credit for transforming "the working class from an appendage of the liberal bourgeoisie into an independent political party".[1] But as head of the Union he conducted an opportunist policy, spurring the workers towards direct compromise with the reactionary government.

Lassalle became popular with the workers as a talented publicist and orator prior to the revo-

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 175.

lution of 1848-1849. He took part in the revolution in Rhenish Prussia where he became a friend of Marx and Engels. In the 1850s, Lassalle worked on some philosophical papers which were written from idealistic positions. Although Marxism exerted a definite influence on him, he never did become a Communist. He elaborated his own tactics that were harmful to the working class, seeking to lead the German workers along an erroneous path and isolate them from the general political struggle of the European proletariat.

Lassalle spread the illusion concerning the possibility of peacefully growing into socialism with the help of the bourgeois state. He wrongly oriented the workers on such issues as the aims and tactics of the proletarian class struggle and tried to distract the workers from the trade union movement and strike battles with the help of his anti-scientific theory of the "iron law" of wages which, he claimed, was determined by the "physiological" minimum of a worker's means of subsistence and could not be increased. Lassalle campaigned for the formation of a united German state under Prussia's leadership. The struggle within the German working-class movement to determine the ways of uniting Germany found its expression in the contradictions between Marxism and Lassalleanism.

Early in the 1860s, a new revolutionary trend emerged in Germany. The delimitation of political lines within the German working-class movement was promoted by the influence of Marx and Engels and the First International which they had founded. Led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, part of the workers began to follow its programme.

In the struggle for unity in the working-class movement and against anarchism, reformism and Lassalleanism, Marx and Engels worked out revolutionary tactics for the working class. They explained to the German workers the need for creating an independent party to guide the struggle for a democratic solution of the question of national unification.

In these circumstances the appearance of *Capital* was of exceptional importance for the development of the German working-class movement on the basis of the theory of scientific socialism.

Bourgeois scientists and publicists in the West met Marx's brilliant work with a "conspiracy of silence". They wanted to paralyse the influence of *Capital* on the workers by ignoring it. This did not come as a surprise to Marx and Engels, for bourgeois economists had employed similar tactics with regard to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. In order to bring the conclusions formulated in *Capital* on the basis of an analysis of the capitalist mode of production to the knowledge of the workers, something which, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, brooked no delay, it was necessary to smash this "conspiracy of silence" and to raise a noise about the book in the press.

With *Capital* printed, it was most important to bring it to the attention of readers by propagandising it in the press. To concisely expound the basic principles of the book, to write a review of such a voluminous work containing so much intricate scientific argumentation, was a difficult task not only for workers but also for those intellectuals who shared the views of Marx and Engels.

A decisive role in propagandising *Capital* was played by Engels who wrote a series of reviews for the most diverse publications, including the bourgeois press.

Of the nine reviews he wrote, two were not published during his lifetime, but their manuscripts have been preserved and were included in the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels. Regarding the propaganda of *Capital* in the press, Engels wrote to Kugelmann in November 1867: "If you need my assistance then let me know for what newspaper you need the article—I am always ready to serve the Party."

Engels's reviews were intended for publication in newspapers of various trends and were written accordingly.

The reviews for democratic and socialist newspapers were prepared in such a way as to popularise Marx's economic theory. His article for the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* was a continuation, as it were, of his review of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, which Engels had written for *Das Volk*, organ of the communist educational society of German workers in London. The review of the book for the British *Fortnightly Review* magazine, which was founded by a group of bourgeois radicals, was not published.

Seeking to elicit a response to *Capital*, Engels in some reviews critically analysed the book as if from bourgeois positions. His approach to readers was differentiated—to the South German democrats he portrayed Marx as Prussia's adversary, while in financial newspapers he showed him up as an expert in financial matters.

The first to break the "conspiracy of silence"

was Eugen Dühring, a vulgar economist.[1] Discussing Dühring's review in a letter to Kugelmann, Marx spoke about it in a very unflattering manner and noted: "I must be grateful to the man, since he is the first professional who has said anything at all."[2]

The review by the bourgeois economist Hermann Rösler[3] was so poorly written that it could only discredit him in the eyes of the readers. Although Marx's health made him little disposed to merriment, he laughed till tears ran from his eyes at the nonsense the man wrote. With regard to many of his critics Marx considered it possible to limit himself to "ironical defence".

The attempts of some economists to refute the basic propositions advanced in *Capital* amounted to nothing more than coarse attacks against its author. This was also true of Beutner, a vulgar economist.[4]

Lacking the erudition to attack Marx's economic theory, some bourgeois economists could do no more than carp at the author. In 1872, the *Concordia* magazine, organ of big German industrialists and Katheder-Socialists, published an anonymous polemical article. Later it was learned that the article had been written by Lujo Brentano. In it Brentano slanderously accused Marx of distorting a quotation from the budget report delivered on April 16, 1863, by William Ewart Gladstone, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[1] *Ergänzungsblätter zur Kenntnis der Gegenwart*, Vol. III, 1868, S. 182-86.

[2] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1965, p. 200.

[3] *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 1869, No. 6.

[4] *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Bd. 12, 1869.

After Marx's death the smear campaign against him was joined by Sadley Taylor, a British bourgeois economist. Both Brentano and Taylor tried to cast doubts on Marx as a scientist and to undermine trust in Marxist theory. Engels, therefore, thought it necessary in 1891 to repulse the attacks of Brentano and other like-minded persons.

Johann Karl Rodbertus, a protagonist of the reactionary ideas of Prussian "state socialism" and ideologist of bourgeoisified Junkers, maintained that he was the author of the surplus-value theory and therefore accused Marx of widely using materials from his *Zur Erkenntnis unserer staatswirtschaftlichen Zustände* in *Capital* without referring to their source. Marx had never read Rodbertus's book. Nor was there anything in it resembling Marx's theory. Engels, who wittily remarked in his letter to Bernstein on February 8, 1883, that Rodbertus "came close to discovering surplus-value but was prevented from doing so by his Pomeranian estate", decisively refuted Rodbertus's claims in the preface to the German edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*.[1]

Bourgeois economists could not and did not want to agree with Marx's conclusions. He was fully justified in writing to Johann Philipp Becker on April 17, 1867, i.e., on the eve of the publication of Volume I of *Capital*, that unquestionably it was "the most terrible missile ever fired at the head of the bourgeoisie (including owners in land)". But there were bourgeois scientists who did not condemn it outright. For example, Yevgeny De-Roberti, a positivist, while disagreeing

[1] See Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Moscow, 1958, pp. 7-23.

with the solution of the social problem offered in *Capital*, praised the erudition of the author who had set himself the scientific task of tracing the origin of capital and produced a well-argumented study.[1]

Maurice Block, a French economist, whose review of *Capital* was, in Marx's opinion, an example of the impoverishment of the theoretical thinking of the bourgeoisie, disagreed with the conclusions Marx had drawn on the basis of an analysis of Britain's economy. At the same time Block said that the historical part of *Capital* merited attention.[2]

Summing up the attitude of bourgeois economists to Marx's brilliant work, Lenin noted that being unable to produce any serious arguments against *Capital*, "generally-recognised science" bows and scrapes to it, while continuing to repeat the old banalities of school economics.[3]

Noteworthy are some comments about *Capital* made by representatives of various trends current among German intellectuals at the time.

Arnold Ruge, a publicist and Marx's former sympathiser, highly praised *Capital*. Sending the book to Steinthal, a businessman, Ruge wrote in his letter on January 25, 1869: "This is an *epoch-making* work; it sheds a bright, often piercing light on the development, death, labour pains and the terrible days of suffering of society at various periods.... Marx has great erudition and a magnificent dialectical talent. The book is beyond mental scope of many people and newspaper scribes, but it will undoubtedly pave the

---

[1] *La Philosophie positive*, 1868, No. 4.
[2] *Journal des économistes*, 1872, No. 79.
[3] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 175.

way for itself, and despite the breadth of its range and precisely because of this its influence will be tremendous."

Ludwig Feuerbach, a materialist philosopher who studied the book in the spring of 1868, called it a "grandiose critique of political economy".[1]

Marx sent a copy of *Capital* to the poet Ferdinand Freiligrath with whom he severed relations in 1859 in connection with the Vogt trial. After reading the book, in which he understood nothing, Freiligrath hastened to describe it as a useful manual for young businessmen and a necessary scientific authority.[2]

Regarding the response which *Capital* evoked among the workers, Marx wrote: "The appreciation which *Das Kapital* rapidly gained in wide circles of the German working class is the best reward of my labours."[3] Friedrich Lessner, Johann Philipp Becker, Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel, Karl Wilhelm Eichhoff, Joseph Dietzgen and other representatives of the progressive sections of the German working class welcomed the publication of *Capital* and promptly began to study and propagandise it.

The first person to read *Capital* and to propagandise it was Jenny, Marx's wife and friend. In a letter to Johann Philipp Becker, dated October 5, 1867, she suggested how best to study the work and thus showed how well she herself understood it. "I must say in all frankness," she wrote about the chapters treating of primitive accumulation and the theory of colonisation, "that

---

[1] *Ausgewählte Briefe von und an Ludwig Feuerbach*, Hrsg. von W. Bolin, Bd. II, Leipzig, 1904, S. 352.

[2] See F. Mehring, *Karl Marx. Geschichte seines Lebens*, Berlin, 1964, S. 385.

[3] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, p. 13.

this pathos, amazing in its simplicity, gripped me, and history became as clear as sunlight to me."

The life of Friedrich Lessner, Marx's and Engels's loyal assistant and tireless propagandist of scientific communism, is an example of selfless service to the cause of the emancipation of the working class. In his home country he was brutally persecuted for his revolutionary activity and in 1856 was forced to emigrate to Britain.

When *Capital* was published, Lessner, who was a tailor, and his family were in very straitened circumstances. He wrote to Marx on October 8, 1867, that in a way he was even pleased that he was out of work, for this gave him a chance to study Marx's book. This, he said, "in any case is a thousand times more valuable than all the tailoring in the world. I have not read much so far. But what I have read, sufficiently rewarded me for the late appearance of this work."[1] Lessner collected all newspapers which had reviews about *Capital*.

The Brussels Congress of the First International held in 1868 adopted a resolution tabled by Lessner on behalf of the German delegation, which said in part: "... recommend to the working men of all countries the work of Karl Marx: *Das Kapital*, published last year, and urge upon them the desirability of endeavouring to cause that important work to be translated into those languages into which it has not yet been translated."[2]

This resolution was widely circulated in several languages: it was printed in the official reports

[1] *Istorik-Marksist* (Historian-Marxist), 1935, Nos. 5-6, p. 154 (in Russian).

[2] *The General Council of the First International 1868-1870. Minutes*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, p. 298.

of the International congresses and in the press; even the conservative *Times* carried it.[1]

Johann Philipp Becker systematically wrote about *Capital* in *Der Vorbote*. He pointed out that "from this arsenal the proletariat can draw the weapons for its emancipation".[2] In October 1867, less than a month after the publication of the first edition, he wrote to Lessner: "*Capital* is our sword, our armour and a weapon for attack and defence."[3]

No small part in propagandising *Capital* was played by Karl Wilhelm Eichhoff, the organiser of the Berlin sections of the International and one of its first historians. In 1868, he lectured on *Capital* in the workers' society Alt-Köln.[4] In the autumn of the same year Eichhoff delivered a series of reports to Berlin printing workers on the labour movement, in which he analysed *Capital*. On October 2, 1868, he wrote to Marx saying that he regarded *Capital* as the scientific foundation of the working-class movement of those days.[5]

August Bebel, a talented organiser of the workers-Eisenach's followers, skilfully used the rostrum of the North German Reichstag to spread the ideas of *Capital*. His speeches caused general animation, noise from Right-wing deputies, and shouts of "Hear, hear" from the Left-wingers, as was the case, for instance, during the discussion

---

[1] *The Times*, September 15, 1868.

[2] *Der Vorbote*, 1867, N 11.

[3] *Novy Mir* (New World), 1964, No. 9, p. 195 (in Russian).

[4] *Pervy Internatsional* (First International), Part 1 (1864-1870), Moscow, 1964, p. 359 (in Russian).

[5] *Die I. Internationale in Deutschland (1864-1872)*, Berlin, 1964, S. 273.

of new shop rules. Taking issue with bourgeois deputies at the meeting on March 18, 1869, Bebel called for legislation setting a time limit for work at factories, no work on Sundays, and for the introduction of a ten-hour working day, and explained to the workers their position in relation to the other classes, as well as their rights and their demands. Characterising class contradictions, he referred to Britain as an example of flourishing democracy. There, he said, the national income was rising in conditions of industrial upsurge, but that did not improve the living standards of the workers. This income was shared by a handful of the propertied, while the poverty of the working class continued to grow.[1] He also emphasised that the bourgeoisie used class contradictions to split and suppress the working-class movement.[2] At the meeting of the General Council on April 13, 1869, Marx called Bebel's speech "the best speech in every respect" and one of the first "socialist speeches... that had ever been made in any parliament".[3]

Impressed by this courageous revolutionary address, Joseph Dietzgen wrote to Marx: "You must welcome it as a sign of the times that from the rostrum of the Reichstag the ideas of Your work like lightning illuminate contemporaneity; this light brings joy to friends and staggers enemies."[4] Joseph Dietzgen (1828-1889) was a German tanner; he independently arrived at a ma-

---

[1] This thought can be traced in *Capital*.

[2] *Stenographische Berichte des Norddeutschen Bundes*, Session 1869, Bd. I, S. 146-48.

[3] *The General Council of the First International 1868-1870. Minutes*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, pp. 81-82.

[4] *Die I. Internationale in Deutschland (1864-1872)*, S. 319.

terialistic world outlook and took part in the revolution of 1848-1849. After its defeat he left Germany and for the next 20 years lived in America and Europe. He spent four years (1864-1868) in Russia where he worked at various factories and at the same time pursued philosophic studies. Dietzgen began to propagandise *Capital* in 1868 by writing an article about it in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*.[1] In 1872, he gave a fitting rebuff to Heinrich Sybel, a national-liberal. In his lectures Sybel, a bourgeois historian and Director of the Prussian State Archives, subjected *Capital* to severe criticism.[2]

One of the most active propagandists of *Capital* was Wilhelm Liebknecht, a prominent leader of the German and international working-class movement. One of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, Liebknecht was a pupil and associate of Marx and Engels and an active participant in the revolution of 1848-1849.

Liebknecht became interested in the book while Marx was still writing it and asked him to hurry up with *Capital*. He advised Marx to set forth the economic theory in popular form because the masses had a very vague idea about it.[3] When the book was published, Liebknecht expressed his admiration for "this gigantic scientific work" and promised to insert notices and reviews of it in German and Swiss newspapers with which he was connected. In his letters to Marx he listed the newspapers in which he intended to publish reviews.

---

[1] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, 1868, N 31-36.

[2] *Der Volksstaat*, April 17, 1872, N 31.

[3] W. Liebknecht to K. Marx, About or on March 19, 1865, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1550.

The spring of 1867 brought much suffering to Liebknecht's family. His wife died as a result of interminable material difficulties and unbearable nervous strain, and he was left all alone to care for the children. The tremendous organisational party work he performed and the preparations for the publication of a workers' newspaper left him no time to study *Capital* in detail.

Liebknecht frankly admitted to Marx early in 1868 that he had done less to propagandise *Capital* than he would have liked to. But he wrote dozens of letters about the book to people who could help disseminate Marx's economic theory. Subsequently Liebknecht systematically propagandised *Capital* in his publications. The *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* published Marx's Preface to *Capital*, which it characterised as an epoch-making work in political economy, and an excerpt from the part dealing with the conditions of the Irish proletariat.[1]

Liebknecht tirelessly propagandised Marx's economic theory. At meetings and in study circles at the end of 1867 he began acquainting workers with *Capital*, having prepared for this purpose a series of lectures.[2] He delivered reports on the working day and surplus-value in which he propagandised *Capital*. "In any case, I can safely say that among the workers where my influence extends to fairly large sections," Liebknecht wrote early in 1868, "I have succeeded in having Marx recognised as a theoretician and political leader."[3]

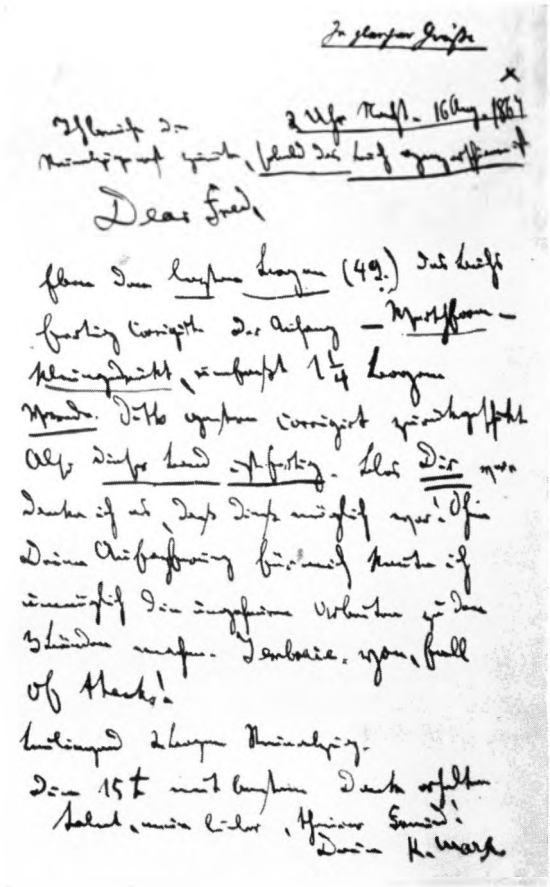
---

[1] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, 1868, N 1-2, 15, 16, 17.

[2] *Novaya i Noveishaya Istoriya* (New and Modern History), Moscow, 1965, No. 3, p. 92, footnote 9 (in Russian).

[3] *Wilhelm Liebknechts Briefwechsel mit Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*. Haag, 1963, S. 88.

Frederick Engels



Facsimile of Marx's letter to Engels written on August 16, 1867

August 16, 1867, 2 a.m.

Dear Fred,

Have just finished correcting the *last sheet* (49th) of the book. The appendix—*form of value*—takes 1¼ sheets *in small print*.

Preface ditto sent back yesterday corrected. So *this volume is finished*. It was thanks to *you* alone that this became possible. Without your self-sacrifice for me I could never possibly have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks! Enclosed two sheets of corrected proofs.

The £15 received with best thanks.

Greetings, my dear, beloved friend!

Your *K. Marx*

I'll need the final proofs only when the *whole book will come out.*

In one of his lectures in March 1870, Liebknecht said that Marx had raised political economy as a science to an unattainable height, completely overturning bourgeois political economy. Liebknecht developed the ideas which he had drawn from *Capital*. He noted that as a result of the capitalist system of landownership vast tracts of land were concentrated in the hands of a handful of big landowners, which made the masses politically and economically dependent on them, and that the workers and peasants should join forces in the struggle against this state of affairs.

Liebknecht published this lecture, supplementing it with material from Chapter XXIII of *Capital*[1] dealing with the general law of capitalist accumulation and a sub-section entitled "The British Agricultural Proletariat" in which Marx described the process of the impoverishment of small farmers. Liebknecht demonstrated good judgement by referring to this material from *Capital*, for in it Marx substantiated his conclusions with official data revealing vividly the appalling living and working conditions of the agricultural workers: their unsanitary housing and low wages which force the free labourers to work twice as much as ordinary convicts, while eating worse than they do.[2]

Liebknecht also considered it his direct duty to speak up for the Marxist teaching from the Reichstag rostrum.

He even quoted *Capital* in his speeches at court trials. In 1872, August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Adolph Hepner were arraigned on treason

[1] W. Liebknecht, *Zur Grund- und Bodenfrage*, Leipzig, 1874.

[2] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, pp. 673-98.

charges for boldly protesting against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and coming out in defence of the Paris Commune. But the trial took a completely unexpected turn. Bebel and Liebknecht turned it into a platform for indicting the militarist regime of the German Empire. They fearlessly propagandised socialist ideas. During the proceedings on March 16, 1872, Liebknecht started to quote the Preface to *Capital* in which Marx disclosed the book's revolutionary content, and although the prosecutor cut Liebknecht short, his speech was recorded in full in the minutes of the proceedings.[1]

Capital was also actively propagandised by Ludwig Kugelmann (1828-1902), a Hannover doctor and a German Social-Democrat. Kugelmann was one of those revolutionary intellectuals who were fully aware of the significance of Marx's brilliant work and helped to spread it. In a letter to Engels, dated April 24, 1867, Marx characterised Kugelmann as a man of "*profound honesty*, who was ready for everything, and capable of self-sacrifice and—what was most important—*convinced*". Having read Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Kugelmann impatiently awaited the continuation of this work. His private collection of Marx's and Engels's books, according to Marx, was much bigger than their own.

In their correspondence Marx and Kugelmann discussed a wide range of problems connected with the working-class movement and world politics. Marx also wrote of his plans and of all matters connected with the publication of Volume

---

[1] *Leipziger Hochverrats-Prozess...*, Leipzig, 1872. S. 230-33.

I of *Capital*. The exceptional theoretical significance of Marx's letters to Kugelmann was noted by Lenin in the Preface to the first complete collection of these letters published in Russian translation (1907). Lenin wrote that they reveal Marx "as a man who responded directly to all questions of the labour movement and world politics", and emphasised that in them he briefly recapitulated lessons in a policy "worthy of the proletariat".[1]

After thoroughly studying *Capital*, Kugelmann consulted with the author and in his letters expressed his sincere admiration for the work in which, he said, Marx revealed the "cellular pathology of bourgeois society".[2] Kugelmann did not find it easy to grasp the analysis of commodities given in *Capital* although he did consider that the author had set forth the problem very logically. It amazed him how Marx succeeded in leading the reader out of such an intricate labyrinth of theoretical discourses and bringing him to such simple and lucid conclusions.[3]

After the publication of the book Kugelmann did all he could to propagandise it. He became acquainted with Meissner, corresponded with him and received copies of *Capital* from him. Meissner praised Kugelmann's efforts to spread *Capital* and wrote to Marx that if in all the other towns there had been such agents as in Hannover, it would have been necessary to prepare the second edition of the book much earlier.[4]

---

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, pp. 104, 112.

[2] L. Kugelmann to K. Marx, November 4, 1868, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 7941.

[3] *Die I. Internationale in Deutschland (1864-1872)*, S. 175.

[4] O. Meissner to K. Marx, August 21, 1868, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1882.

Marx, who highly appreciated Kugelmann's work to popularise *Capital*, wrote in one of his letters to him: "You have done more—apart from everything personal—for my book than all Germany put together."[1] Kugelmann did not consider himself sufficiently prepared to review the book in the press and wrote a letter to Marx requesting instructions on this score. Marx forwarded the letter to Engels and wrote to him in October 10, 1867: "You can tell him about my book much better than I. . . . You must impress upon him that the main thing is to 'raise a noise'; this is much more important than how the reviews are written and how well argumented they are."

Kugelmann made numerous attempts to publish a review of *Capital* in Hannover papers, but he only managed to insert in the *Deutsche Volkszeitung* a brief notice, which he wrote in the style of one of Engels's articles about Volume I of *Capital*. Kugelmann concluded with an appeal to the "leading figures in political economy" to voice their opinion of the book. Marx was evidently not fully satisfied with this notice; as it was written for a democratic newspaper it could have said more about the content of the book.

Later Kugelmann got the *Hannoverscher Courier* to reprint Engels's review of *Capital* from the *Staatsanzeiger für Württemberg*. He obtained 25 impressions of the review from the print-shop and used them to propagandise the book.[2] He sent another 50 impressions of Engels's review published by the *Zukunft* to the bourgeois economists Bruno Hildebrand, Wilhelm Roscher and

[1] K. Marx, *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, p. 77.

[2] *Hannoverscher Courier*, July 4, 1868 (L. Kugelmann to K. Marx, July 9, 1868), CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1866.

Moritz Wirth, to the natural scientist and bourgeois philosopher Ludwig Buchner, to the economist and politician Franz-Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch, as well as to many others.[1]

Receiving from Engels the reviews which he wrote for newspapers of diverse trends, Kugelmann and his wife made copies of them in compliance with Engels's request to preserve the original, and sent them to newspaper offices. Kugelmann utilised his extensive connections in Germany to popularise *Capital*. He sent newspaper cuttings with the reviews to Marx and informed him of all other measures he intended to take. "Were there six people of your calibre in Germany," Marx wrote to Kugelmann on December 7, 1867, "the resistance of the philistine mass and the *conspiration de silence* of the experts and newspaper crowd would have been so far broken down that at least some serious discussion would have begun. Mais il faut attendre!"[2]

Kugelmann also used other original forms to propagandise *Capital*. Quite likely it was on his initiative that Marx's portrait was displayed next to *Capital* in the window of K. Brandes's shop.[3]

In a letter to Professor Rudolf Virchow, Kugelmann, while informing this prominent German pathologist and anthropologist of a rare case in his medical practice, advised him to read *Capital*. In this connection Marx wrote to Kugelmann: "You have done me a great service by writing to Virchow, although I doubt whether he has the

---

[1] L. Kugelmann to F. Engels, November 25, 1867. *New and Modern History*, 1965, No. 3.

[2] K. Marx, *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, p. 55.

[3] L. Kugelmann to F. Engels, November 25, 1867, *New and Modern History*, 1965, No. 3.

time and patience to go deeply into a subject so remote from his own."[1]

Wherever Kugelmann went, whether on business[2] or holiday, he invariably spoke of Marx and his teaching. He talked about *Capital* with people of most diverse professions: with factory inspectors, a teacher at a Wiesbaden commercial school, a young engineer named Eckert, and even with a Russian officer.[3] Whenever he managed to interest his listener he would lend him a copy of the book and then direct him to the publisher.

After each trip Kugelmann wrote Marx how many copies of the book he distributed in Frankfurt on the Main, Lausanne, Geneva and other towns. As a reader of *Capital*, Kugelmann conceived various plans and made recommendations aimed at making it more accessible and improving methods of propagandising it. In order to help the reader, Kugelmann suggested that Marx furnish *Capital* with a detailed index.[4]

Following Kugelmann's advice, Marx added an Appendix concerning the form of value to Section 1 of Chapter I. "A few days ago," Marx wrote to Kugelmann in July 1867, "I sent off to Leipzig the *Appendix* with the title: *The Form of Value*, Appendix to Chapter I, 1. You know the *author of this plan*, to whom I herewith render thanks for his suggestion."

Occasionally, Marx would approach Kugelmann for medical advice. In 1874, Marx went

[1] K. Marx, *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, p. 70.

[2] Congress of Natural Scientists in Dresden (September 1868). L. Kugelmann to K. Marx, October 15, 1868, *New and Modern History*, 1965, No. 3.

[3] L. Kugelmann to K. Marx, March 4, 1869, *New and Modern History*, 1965, No. 3.

[4] L. Kugelmann to K. Marx, October 15, 1868, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1904.

to Karlsbad for treatment together with Kugelmann upon the latter's insistence. Subsequently, however, their relations became strained. Kugelmann was convinced that Marx's chief "mission" was the elaboration of an economic theory, "the building of a scientific basis for a new social order".[1] Unable to understand the importance of Marx's practical revolutionary activity, Kugelmann sought to persuade him to give up all other work and to concentrate on the theoretical elaboration of *Capital*. It was this that caused the final break in their relations.

Marx's and Engels's correspondence with Kugelmann gradually came to an end. The few letters which Engels wrote to Kugelmann after 1874 and which have been preserved, were of a totally different nature. They contained official felicitations and greetings and lacked the former warmth and friendliness. Nevertheless, in 1895 Kugelmann made an attempt to publish Marx's and Engels's earlier articles. With this aim in view he launched a search for newspapers published in the 1840s.[2]

Exceptional energy in propagandising *Capital* in Germany was displayed by the poet Karl Siebel (1836-1868), Engels's distant relative and fellow townsman. Utilising his contacts in literary circles, Siebel sent reviews of *Capital* as well as items about it to German newspapers which published some of them.[3] Once he wrote to Engels

---

[1] *Die I. Internationale in Deutschland (1864-1872)*. S. 175-76.

[2] L. Kugelmann to F. Engels, July 14, 1895, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 5944.

[3] K. Siebel to F. Engels, March 27, 1868, *New and Modern History*, 1965, No. 3. Siebel had consumption. During the last months of his life he could not even hold

that the newspaper *Rhein- und Ruhrzeitung* had published the review, but the copy of the newspaper intended for Marx had been lost.

The appearance of *Capital* and its propaganda among the workers helped to strengthen the opposition in the All-German Workers' Union.

Johann Baptist Schweitzer, who succeeded Lassalle in the Union, decided to play a double game when he saw the acclaim with which the workers received *Capital.* He pretended to share Marx's views in the hope of enhancing his own prestige among the masses.

Marx did not object to Schweitzer publishing a summary of *Capital* with quotations from its text. A series of articles under the title "The Work of Karl Marx" were printed in 10 issues of the newspaper *Sozial-Demokrat.*[1] Marx spoke favourably about the series and noted in a letter to Engels, dated March 23, 1868, that despite certain errors Schweitzer had studied the "matter and knows where the centre of gravity lies". But when at a Union meeting the Lassalleans August Geib and Johann Baptist Hofstetten delivered reports based on the chapter of *Capital* dealing with the working day, without quoting the source of their information, they received a strong rebuff from Marx.

His reply to these men took the form of an unsigned article entitled "Plagiarists" and published in the bourgeois-democratic newspaper *Zukunft,* in which he compared Geib's and Hof-

---

a pen and relied entirely on his wife. A week before he died, she informed Engels that the *Mannheimer Zeitung* had carried an article about *Capital,* and attached a newspaper clipping to her letter. (K. Siebel to F. Engels, May 1, 1868. Ibid. The clipping has been lost.)

[1] *Der Sozial-Demokrat,* 1868, N 10-49.

stetten's statements with the text of *Capital*. He hoped that the article would attract the workers' attention and show Schweitzer that he fooled no one.

Under the influence of *Capital* the most revolutionary-minded and politically-conscious elements in the All-German Workers' Union began to gravitate towards scientific communism and the true revolutionary movement. This is true, for example, of Wilhelm Bracke of Braunschweig, the Union's treasurer and one of its prominent functionaries. His first step to bring *Capital* to the attention of the masses was the publication of several articles on *Wage Labour and Capital*.[1] After that, at the general meeting of the Union held in Hamburg on August 25, 1868, he made a report on *Capital*. Although the main subject was surplus-value, he also dwelt on the nature of commodities and the transformation of money into capital. He cited examples of the workers' struggle for a reasonable working day. The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution submitted by Bracke which pointed out that Marx had made his name immortal through his services to the working class.[2] The revolutionary ideas developed in *Capital* became increasingly known to all German socialists, Lassalleans included. In view of all this, Engels concluded that with the appearance of *Capital* specific Lassalleanism began to decline.

At a congress in Nuremberg in 1868, the workers' educational societies, which were grouped around Bebel and Liebknecht, merged into a special proletarian organisation which adopted as

---

[1] *Niedersächsische Lebensbilder*, Hildesheim, s. a., S. 5.
[2] *Der Sozial-Demokrat*, 1868, N 101.

its programme the fundamental principles of the First International. The following year, Nuremberg workers' unions merged with Left-wing Lassalleans at a congress in Eisenach and formed the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, the first national proletarian party in the international socialist movement. The newspaper *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, later renamed *Der Volksstaat*, became its official organ.

Marx and Engels played a tremendous role in the creation of this, the first mass Marxist party.

Capital correctly oriented the German workers on uniting their forces under the banner of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers). The publication of *Capital*, its popularisation by the Social-Democratic press and its study in workers' circles consolidated the theoretical foundation of the Eisenach party.

In the 1870s, the demand for *Capital*, the "Bible of the working class", increased among the German workers. The assimilation of the ideas of scientific communism by the masses, particularly after the Paris Commune, and also the need to continue the struggle against the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology made it necessary for Marx to prepare the second German edition of *Capital*.

The second German edition of Volume I of *Capital* was published in 1873. The political situation in the country had changed since the appearance of the first edition in 1867. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, provoked by Bismarck and unleashed by Napoleon III, resulted in the downfall of the Second French Empire, the victory of the Prussian military clique, which brought about the completion of Germany's uni-

fication in a counter-revolutionary manner. Germany annexed Alsace and Lorraine and imposed an enormous indemnity on France.

The new German Empire retained the police-bureaucratic features of a semi-absolutist state which Marx described as "military despotism embellished with parliamentary forms".[1] The unification of the country and its industrialisation signified the rapid growth of the German proletariat which was now able to fight against capitalism on a nation-wide scale.

Marxism began to spread rapidly within the German working-class movement on the basis of the class struggle which developed following Germany's unification between the workers and the bourgeoisie.

The German proletariat, having accepted Marxism and created its own independent political party on its basis, drew on the experience of the economic and political struggle of the British and French workers in its fight for emancipation. In view of the fact that in those years the French proletariat was bled white in the battles for the Commune, while the British working-class movement was increasingly influenced by opportunist trends, the German working class became the vanguard of the world proletariat. Consequently, the centre of the international working-class movement shifted to Germany.

Under these circumstances the publication of the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital* (3,000 copies) was a highly important event.

Even prior to the publication of the first German edition Marx believed that it would be re-

---

[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1962, p. 33.

published and therefore asked Engels, who was checking the final proofs of Volume I, to make additions, corrections and suggestions in the margins.

At the end of November 1871, Meissner informed Marx that the first edition was almost completely sold out and suggested that he should start preparing the second edition, which, according to Meissner's plans, would be cheaper and issued in 10 or 12 separate booklets or instalments. For this edition Marx would receive an honorarium of 500 talers or more if the book sold fast, to be paid in three portions, and also 100 free copies of each instalment.[1] Marx began to revise the first edition in December 1871 in preparation for the second edition and concluded the work in a year and a half (by April 1873).

It may be gathered from Marx's correspondence of this period that he worked a great deal, changing both the structure of the book and presentation of its material.[2] In the first edition the text was divided into six chapters, while in the second edition the chapters became parts. Moreover, Chapter IV "Further Study of the Production of Absolute and Relative Surplus-Value" was divided into two parts: Part V "The Production of Absolute and of Relative Surplus-Value" and Part VI "Wages". Each part in its turn was divided into chapters. In Chapter I entitled "Commodities", Marx improved the exposition of the section dealing with use-value. He also thoroughly revised the section on the forms of

[1] O. Meissner to K. Marx, January 23, 1872; March 19, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, Nos. 2736, 2810.

[2] The facsimile of Marx's manuscript with corrections for the second edition was published in the *Bolshevik* magazine, 1933, No. 6, p. 119 (in Russian).

value, because of the double exposition of the subject in the first edition, owing to the appendix to the basic text made at Kugelmann's suggestion. In the second edition this appendix was included in Chapter I.

In the chapter entitled "Money" Marx no longer refers the reader to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, inasmuch as the second edition included all the major problems discussed in the latter work. He also made substantial revisions of Chapter VII, "The Rate of Surplus-Value", particularly of its second part. Moreover, he made textual changes throughout the book, often for purely stylistic reasons.

In a letter to Kugelmann, dated January 22, 1872, Jenny, Marx's daughter, wrote the following concerning the alterations he made in the manuscript: "He introduced extensive changes into the first chapter, and, what is most important, he himself was satisfied with these changes (which does not happen very often). The work which he performed in the last few weeks is indeed tremendous, and it is simply a miracle that it did not undermine his health (it is as good as ever)."

Nevertheless, Marx was unable to thoroughly revise the text of the German original, although he realised that this was necessary as he prepared *Capital* for translation into French.

At the time Marx carried on extensive theoretical and practical revolutionary activity, and continued to study and propagandise the historic experience of the Paris Commune. He wrote *The Civil War in France* (1871), which was a new step forward in Marxist theory of the state and proletarian revolution. Together with Engels he wrote the circular of the General Council of the

International entitled *Fictitious Splits in the International* (1872), in which they exposed Bakuninism as a manifestation of sectarianism that was alien to the true working-class movement.

They also devoted much attention to political and organisational work in preparation for the Hague Congress of the First International where it was planned to fight a decisive battle against Bakuninism.

On top of that Marx was burdened with fresh cares arising from the arrival of many Communard-émigrés in London, all of whom were in very straitened circumstances. Marx's daughter Jenny wrote to the Kugelmanns on December 21-22, 1871, that he "not only had to fight against all the governments of the ruling classes, but also wage hand-to-hand battles with 'fat, forty-year-old' landladies who attacked him when one or another Communard would be late with his rent". Consequently, Marx had very little time to work on the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*.

The book went to press in March 1872, and Meissner promised to have it published by June of the same year provided there were no delays on the part of the author. By mid-April Marx had already delivered 42 signatures of the manuscript to the publisher.[1] At the same time Meissner printed the prospectus of this edition which was also drawn up by Marx. Meissner asked Marx to unify the orthography, because in those years some words could still be written either with a "k" or a "c" as, for instance, Charakter or Character.

---

[1] O. Meissner to K. Marx, April 13, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2843.

On July 3, 1872, *Der Volksstaat* carried an article about the forthcoming publication of *Capital*. It noted the theoretical significance of the book as the scientific foundation of modern socialism and called upon all socialists to study it. In the same issue the newspaper informed its readers where and how they could subscribe for the book and how it will be distributed, and that a special prospectus of the edition had already been issued. *Der Volksstaat* systematically announced the appearance of separate instalments of *Capital* which were sold in its editorial offices and circulation department. August Geib, an active member of the Social-Democratic Party and its treasurer at the time, supervised their distribution.

The first instalment of the second edition consisting of five signatures first came off the press in the middle of July 1872.[1] In a brief preface on the inside of the cover Meissner wrote that the theoretical significance of the work was borne out by its popularity: the first edition of *Capital* had been sold out, it had also been translated into Russian, and its French version was being prepared. This book, the preface said, is the only work dealing with the development of modern industry and agriculture right up to the present day. Meissner added that the author had taken into account readers' requests and had divided the long chapters into sections, which had been listed in detail in the Contents. The edition was to be published in nine instalments with an interval of two or three weeks between each.

Meissner sent 45 copies of the first instalment to Marx and 60 to various newspapers.

---

[1] L. Kugelmann to K. Marx, July 16, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2957.

The publication of the second edition in separate instalments was attended by unforeseen circumstances. Meissner had to print a greater number of copies of the first instalment than of the other eight in order to popularise it in Germany, particularly among German emigrants in the U.S.A., and also to meet requests of readers some of whom had lost the beginning of the book, while others, who had failed to buy it in time, turned to the publisher for help. Meissner then made a second printing of 500 copies[1] of the first instalment—a considerable figure for those years.

On August 31, August Geib inserted a notice in *Der Volksstaat* announcing the release of the second instalment of *Capital*.[2] Early in September 1872, Meissner sent Marx 50 copies of the second, third and fourth instalments,[3] but the notice about the appearance of the third and fourth instalments was not printed by the newspaper until November 28. When the fourth instalment had already been published Meissner asked Marx to hurry with the proofs of the next instalments because the printers had nothing to do.[4] The fifth and sixth instalments appeared at the close of November 1872.[5] In January 1873, *Der Volksstaat* announced the publication of the seventh and eighth instalments.[6] Marx sent the last proofs to Meissner on April 5, 1873. At the end of the same month, the last, ninth instalment was published, and the required

[1] O. Meissner to K. Marx, July 27, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2970.

[2] *Der Volksstaat*, 1872, N. 70, 72.

[3] O. Meissner to K. Marx, September 9, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3012.

[4] O. Meissner to K. Marx, September 18, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3017.

[5] *Der Volksstaat*, 1872, N 96, 97.

[6] *Der Volksstaat*, 1873, N 6, 8.

Börsenblatt

für den

Deutschen Buchhandel und die mit ihm verwandten Geschäftszweige

Organ des Börsenvereins der Deutschen Buchhändler.

№ 153. — Leipzig Sonnabend den 5 Juli. — 1873.

[25266.] In meinem Verlage ist jetzt vollständig erschienen:

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oeconomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band.

Productionsprocess des Kapitals.

Zweite verbesserte Auflage. 52 Bogen gr. 8.

3 ℔ ord.

In Rechnung 13/12 mit 25 %; gegen baar 11/10 mit 33⅓.

Ihren Bedarf bitte zu verlangen.

Hamburg, 6. Juni 1873.

Otto Meissner.

Publisher's notice concerning the appearance of the second German edition of "Capital", Vol. I

WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

BRUSSELS, SEPT. 11.

THE TIMES

LONDON, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1868.

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band.

Buch I: Der Produktionsprozeß des Kapitals.

Hamburg
Verlag von Otto Meissner
1867.

Friedrich Lessner wrote the following words above the clipping from "The Times" of the text of the resolution passed by the Brussels Congress of the First International, calling upon the workers to study "Capital":

"The resolution below has been adopted at the meeting on September 11."

Below he wrote: "I have just learned from the publisher of this work that this book is being printed in Russian in St. Petersburg. And so these Russians, who are constantly disparaged, have overtaken progressive Englishmen and the noisy French. I hope that this development will make the above peoples feel ashamed.

Beginning of October 1868.
London, Friedrich Lessner."

number of copies were sent to the author. On June 6, 1873, Meissner published a notice announcing that all nine instalments had been printed,[1] and put them for sale stitched together into a single volume in which there were no covers between the instalments.[2]

Thus, it took Meissner about a year to bring out the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*, instead of three or four months as he had promised. This delay was partially due to the complexity of the subject-matter and also to the fact that the publisher and the printers were in different towns which caused certain difficulties in the delivery of material. No small part in this delay was played by the strike of apprentice-printers in Leipzig which lasted for three and a half months, from January 26 to May 13, 1873. Another reason was that while preparing the second edition, Marx was also busy editing and correcting the French edition of Volume I of *Capital*.

The subsequent propaganda and distribution of *Capital* are connected with an outstanding event in the history of the German working-class movement—the merger of the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans into a single workers' party. The amal-

[1] Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel, N 153, July 5, 1873. Notice No. 25266 was dated June 6. The second edition of *Capital* was registered in *Hinrichs Vierteljahres-Catalog*, 1873, N 3, S. 247.

[2] The dates of issue of the instalments of the second edition of *Capital*:

Instalment 1—July 1872
Instalment 2—August 1872
Instalments 3 and 4—September 1872
Instalments 5 and 6—November 1872
Instalments 7 and 8—December 1872
Instalment 9—June 1873

There were about 5 signatures in each instalment and 52 signatures in the whole book.

gamation of German socialists took place in 1875 at the Gotha Congress and put an end to the prolonged struggle within the German working-class movement. Henceforth the party of the German working class acquired a genuinely national character. But this important victory was achieved at a high price, for the programme adopted at the Congress contained concessions to the Lassalleans on certain theoretical and practical issues. The draft of the Gotha Programme elicited sharp criticism from Marx.

His *Critique of the Gotha Programme* strikingly illustrates his struggle for the proletarian party; it is a magnificent example of creative Marxism and a theoretical document ranking next in importance to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and *Capital*. Subjecting to withering criticism the Lassalleans' petty-bourgeois sectarian views on the essence of bourgeois exploitation, on the tactics of class struggle, on the state, and on ways of effecting the transition to socialist society, and unmasking their deviation from proletarian internationalism, Marx advanced and developed a number of new fundamental ideas. He substantiated the need for a transition period between capitalist and communist societies and showed that the state in this period would be the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of the theory of the reproduction and circulation of public capital in the future communist society, which he had elaborated in *Capital*, Marx advanced the proposition concerning two phases of communist formation—socialist and communist proper.

While Marx continued to develop the thoughts formulated in *Capital*, the book itself was gradually winning recognition as a theoretical weapon of Social-Democracy. The interest in and demand

for the work grew parallel with the development of the socialist working-class movement.

The socialist movement made considerable headway after the Gotha Congress. This was manifested primarily in the party's numerical growth—in the two years following the merger, its membership increased to 34,000. The circulation of the socialist press increased rapidly, and more and more people voted for the Socialist Party. But the ruling circles severely persecuted the socialists. In 1878, the Prussian Government passed extraordinary anti-socialist legislation, using as a pretext the anarchists' attempt on the life of Wilhelm I. The Government banned the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, disbanded all its organisations, closed down its newspapers, and abolished freedom of assembly and association. The party was forced to go underground.

Meissner was forewarned of the Government's decision and wrote to Engels that he would have liked to send him the remaining copies of *Capital*, thus preventing them from being confiscated.[1] Fortunately, his fears proved to be unfounded. In 1883, despite the extraordinary anti-socialist legislation, Meissner published a new edition of Volume I.

In October 1881, Meissner wrote to Marx suggesting that he start work on the third edition and informed him that there was a growing demand for his book, and that the remaining copies would probably be sold by the spring of 1882.[2] On January 9, 1883, Marx wrote to his

---

[1] O. Meissner to K. Marx, November 11, 1878, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3954.

[2] O. Meissner to K. Marx, October 22, 1881, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 4315.

daughter Eleanor that, according to Meissner, the second edition was being rapidly bought up, and that the latter was impatiently waiting for the manuscript with corrections to begin publication of the third edition. Meissner proposed to bring out this edition in 3,000 copies. But Marx had another plan: he wanted Meissner to publish a thousand copies first, and while those were being sold he would have time to introduce the necessary changes in the copies which were still to be printed. In this period Marx did not plan to devote a great deal of time to the new edition of Volume I, considering that he had to concentrate entirely on completing Volume II.

The death of his wife on December 2, 1881, seriously affected Marx's failing health. Jenny died at a time when he was still recuperating from a serious illness, and the doctors insisted that he should not attend her funeral. He was so weak that all work, even that of revising *Capital* in preparation for the new edition, was absolutely out of the question.

Marx was not destined to complete the preparation of the third edition of Volume I of *Capital* for print. On January 11, 1883, he sustained another terrible blow—his daughter Jenny died. His health failed him again, and on March 14, 1883, the world heard the sad news of his death.

The demise of the founder of scientific socialism, leader and adviser of revolutionary proletarians all over the world, was a tremendous loss to the international working-class movement. "Mankind," wrote Engels, "is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time."[1]

[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 361.

In the Preface to the third edition of Volume I of *Capital*, written on November 7, 1883, Engels addressed the following words to the reader: "Upon me who in Marx lost the best, the truest friend I had—and had for forty years—the friend to whom I am more indebted than can be expressed in words—upon me now devolved the duty of attending to the publication of this third edition, as well as of the second volume, which Marx left behind in manuscript."[1]

It was Marx's original intention to revise a great part of the text of Volume I, to formulate some theoretical principles more precisely and bring historical and statistical materials up to date. But lack of time compelled him to give up this idea, and he made only those insertions which had already been introduced into the French translation. These alterations were transferred into the text by Engels from a French copy where Marx had indicated the relative passages. Most of these alterations were introduced into the part entitled: *The Accumulation of Capital.*

As regards the style, Marx had himself improved it in places, thus making it easier for Engels to style-edit the rest of the text.

Engels transferred into the third German edition some parts of the French translation of *Capital*, taking care that they should fit as closely as possible into the basic text. "Thus," Engels wrote, "not a single word was changed in this third edition without my firm conviction that the author would have altered it himself."[2] New materials concerning exchange-value and use-

[1] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, p. 23.
[2] Ibid., p. 24.

value which Marx had added to the manuscript were included in the third edition. "Unfortunately," Engels wrote to Kautsky on December 27, 1891, "there were few of them, and, moreover, they were written with great difficulty during illness. It took Marx a long time to find the correct wording and he made many changes."

Engels "worked like a slave" getting the third edition of Volume I ready for print. In the middle of 1883 he was already reading proofs, and in August all work was completed, although he was unwell and spent most of the time in bed. It was due to his ill health, he wrote in a letter to Sorge, dated August 8, 1887, that some errors had crept into the third edition. In 1884, he received copies of the third edition.[1]

Volume II of *Capital*, which was prepared for the press by Engels, appeared in 1885. He then concentrated on preparing the third volume for print.

In the autumn of 1889, Meissner informed Engels, who was editing Volume III, that it was necessary to begin work on the fourth edition of Volume I. Engels believed that only a few corrections and additional annotations were required, although the latter had to be thoroughly prepared. It was likewise necessary to read the entire printed text to weed out mistakes and misprints and to verify the references to Volume III.

In the meantime the English edition of Volume I of *Capital*, in which all quotations had been checked with the original by Eleanor Marx, came

---

[1] The appearance of the book was registered in Germany in the last quarter of 1883. Hinrichs, Vierteljahrs-Catalog, 1883, S. 536.

off the press. All these corrections had to be transferred into the new edition.

Engels completed all this work in approximately six weeks, from October to the middle of November 1889. On November 16, he wrote to Laura Lafargue: "The fourth edition of Volume I is already at the printers, and I am resuming work on my Volume III." On January 17, 1890, Engels mailed a copy of the fourth edition of *Capital* to Friedrich Albert Sorge, a prominent figure in the working-class movement, who was in the U.S.A. at the time.[1]

Abridged versions of *Capital*, designed for the general reader, were published and circulated in France, Italy, the Netherlands and some other countries during Marx's lifetime. Provided the author's thoughts were correctly conveyed, these books greatly benefited the working-class movement whose ranks were being steadily increased by arrivals from rural areas and by ruined urban handicraftsmen. Engels had foreseen what enormous work he would have to do looking through the texts of the abridged editions of *Capital* when, back in 1868, he and Marx discussed the idea of making a condensed version of the book. At the time, however, Engels's suggestion was not put into effect.

The question was raised again after Marx's death, and Engels offered Karl Kautsky, then a young Marxist, to prepare a popular outline of *Capital*. Kautsky made a successful job of it, and the book was published in Stuttgart in 1887.[2]

---

[1] Hinrichs, Fünfjähriger-Catalog, Bd. VIII, t. 1, Leipzig, 1892, S. 552.

[2] See K. Kautsky, *Karl Marx' ökonomische Lehren*, Stuttgart, 1887.

This condensed and popularly-worded version was translated into several languages. It was widely read in Germany and abroad and helped spread Marx's economic teaching.

In the 1880s, a heroic period in the German working-class movement, the Social-Democratic Party stood at the head of the relentless and selfless struggle that was waged against the extraordinary legislation. The working-class movement in the country made definite headway, involving ever new sections of the proletariat and increasingly turning to mass strikes as a method of achieving its goals. Describing the strike of the Ruhr miners in 1889, Engels wrote that "a new strata, a vast army joined the working-class movement".[1] This strata added to the votes cast for Social-Democratic candidates in the Reichstag elections and strengthened the trade-union movement. In 1890, the term of the extraordinary legislation expired and the Bismarck government fell.

In his works written in that period Engels creatively developed dialectical and historical materialism, synthesising the new historical experience of the proletariat's liberation struggle and the results of his investigations in the natural and social sciences. Many prominent leaders of the working-class movement were guided by the ideas advanced in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and other works by Engels.

Engels's new works and Marx's *Capital* won more and more readers. The demand for *Capital* increased in the 1890s. This was noted by Laura

---

[1] Engels to Kautsky, September 15, 1889, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 4839.

Lafargue who wrote: "I am happy to think that *Das Kapital* is becoming popular in Germany; daily events are like a living commentary to the book and will help the learned and unlearned to the understanding of it. . . ."[1]

In the period between 1867 and 1890, during the upsurge of German Social-Democracy, four editions of Volume I of *Capital* were published in the country. This fact pointed to the increasing spread of Marxism among the German workers who regarded Marx's book as an indispensable guide in their struggle.

In the first five years approximately a thousand copies of Volume I of *Capital* were sold; in the following decade (1872-1883), another three thousand copies were purchased; and the same number was bought in the next seven years (1883-1890).

Just as the founding of the First International crowned Marx's practical revolutionary activity, so did *Capital* become the copestone of his theoretical studies. These aspects of Marx's activity influenced the formation of the international working-class movement. In the latter half of the 1860s, Marx was simultaneously an ideologist and leader of the working class which had developed into a decisive force in capitalist society and which had for the first time emerged in the historical arena as an active force.

The spread of *Capital* went parallel with the growth of the working-class and socialist movement in Germany.

The book showed the workers the general direction of their struggle, explaining to them

---

[1] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1959, p. 177.

the essence of capitalist exploitation. Franz Mehring, a prominent German historian, pointed out that *Capital* "only gradually became the spiritual property of the German proletariat, but this gratifying process of assimilation did, however, begin immediately after the appearance of the book".[1]

Capital tremendously stimulated the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the German proletariat and accelerated the formation of a revolutionary party of the German working class.

The spread of *Capital* played an important part in the unification of advanced workers on the basis of Marxism. *Capital* became a powerful political weapon of the proletariat in the struggle against petty-bourgeois ideology. Its appearance struck a devastating blow at the opportunist doctrine of the Lassalleans which was retarding the revolutionary movement in Germany.

---

[1] F. Mehring, *Geschichte der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie*, 3. Band, S. 309, Stuttgart, 1919.

CHAPTER II

"THE FIRST FOREIGN NATION TO TRANSLATE 'CAPITAL' WERE THE RUSSIANS"

Marx

In the autumn of 1868, the year following the publication of Volume I of *Capital* in Germany, Marx joyously informed his friends that publisher Polyakov in far-off St. Petersburg was planning to issue it in a Russian translation.

Friedrich Lessner wrote down the glad news in the autographed German edition of *Capital* which Marx had presented to him on September 18, 1867.[1] In a letter to Marx he expressed his "amazement and admiration of this fact", which, he said, should "put to shame" other nations.

News of the forthcoming publication of the Russian translation was published in Liebknecht's newspaper *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, in an article directed against "bourgeois economists who are incapable of challenging *Capital* and are continuing their cowardly tactics of keeping silent about the book". "Nevertheless," the article went on, "*Capital* is beginning to win increasing recog-

[1] This copy of *Capital* is preserved in the CPA IML.

nition and its circulation is growing. A Russian translation will be published in St. Petersburg, and, as we have been informed, its English edition is being prepared."[1]

This news elicited the following response from Ludwig Kugelmann: "It is significant that your work has received its first recognition in Russia!"[2]

The reasons for the news about the forthcoming publication of the Russian edition of *Capital* reaching foreign countries should be sought in Marx's and Engels's extensive ties with leaders of the international revolutionary liberation movement.

The activity of Russian revolutionaries in Geneva, Paris, London, Bucharest and other West European cities strengthened international links and brought Marxist theory to the attention of the Russian emigrants. Lenin wrote that Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century had a "wealth of international links... such as no other country possessed".[3] Thanks to these connections progressive sections of Russia's population were well informed about the theory and practice of the West European revolutionary movement.

At the time the socio-economic conditions in Russia were not sufficiently ripe for the assimilation of Marxism and application of its propositions to Russian reality. The second half of the 19th century, "when capitalist Russia was advancing to replace feudal Russia",[4] was marked by the rapid development of capitalism.

---

[1] *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, 1868, N 44.

[2] L. Kugelmann to K. Marx, October 15, 1868, *New and Modern History*, 1965, No. 3, p. 93.

[3] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 26.

[4] Ibid., Vol. 17, p. 89.

Although of a limited nature, the peasant reform, nevertheless, boosted the growth of the country's productive forces. The penetration of capitalism into the countryside led to the stratification of the peasantry into the rural bourgeoisie and the rural proletarians. The ranks of the working class swelled as industry developed.

With the development of the capitalist mode of production the working-class movement originated and gained strength. The first workers' organisations appeared in the 1870s, and strikes became the principal form of the proletariat's struggle.

The workers' struggle gained momentum during the upsurge of a revolutionary-democratic movement whose principal trend was Narodism.

In the period between the latter half of the 1860s and the beginning of the 1870s the revolutionary camp was dissociating itself from liberalism and was resorting to militant action against the autocracy.

This change, which was determined by the socio-political development in Russia herself, was effected under the powerful influence of the European and international socialist movement, above all by the International Workingmen's Association and the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871.

The proletarian socialist thought of the West left its imprint on the theoretical quests of the Narodniks and drew their attention to the works of Marx and Engels. Some of them were known in Russia as far back as the 1840s and 1850s. Russian progressive intellectuals had read Marx's and Engels's *The Poverty of Philosophy* and *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

The appearance of Volume I of *Capital* at a

time when capitalism was beginning to develop in Russia and the question of its future was being decided naturally aroused particular interest in it. But at the time only a small group of progressive Russian intellectuals who knew German were conversant with *Capital*.

Following the publication of the German edition, Marx personally sent copies of the book to the anarchist Bakunin and Alexander Serno-Solovyovich, a revolutionary democrat and member of the International. *Capital* was read in German by the great scientist Kliment Timiryazev, by the economist Nikolai Sieber, the sociologist Maxim Kovalevsky, the publicist upholding Narodism Grigory Yeliseyev, the chemist Pavel Ilyenkov and others.

On his way from Simbirsk in the autumn of 1867, Timiryazev stopped in Moscow where he visited Professor of Chemistry Pavel Ilyenkov at the Agricultural Academy. "Lying before him," wrote Timiryazev, "was a bulky German tome, fresh from the printers, with a paper-knife still between its pages—it was the first volume of Marx's *Capital*... apparently it was one of the first copies of the book to find its way into Russian hands. Pavel Antonovich promptly, enthusiastically and with his inherent ability delivered something like a real lecture to me on what he had already read. He spent the year 1848 abroad and knew about Marx's earlier activity."[1]

The magazine *Arkhiv Sudebnoi Meditsiny i Obshchestvennoi Gigiyeny* (Archive of Forensic Medicine and Public Hygiene), No. 3, 1870, car-

[1] A. L. Reuel, *Russkaya Ekonomicheskaya Mysl 60-70 Godov XIX Veka i Marksizm* (Russian Economic Thought of the 1860s-1870s and Marxism), Moscow, 1956, p. 224 (in Russian).

ried an article "The Condition of West European Workers from the Standpoint of Public Hygiene" written by doctors P. I. Yakoby and V. A. Zaitsev on the basis of the data contained in Volume I of *Capital*. Only a few copies of the magazine were sold, however, for the censor's office banned the article, deleted it from unsold copies and stopped its further publication. Hearing of this, Marx wrote to Siegfried Meyer in New York on January 21, 1871, that the "censor was taken to task by the Home Minister, the chief editor was removed from office, and the issue of the magazine itself—all the copies which could still be confiscated—burned".

Capital also aroused the interest of Academician V. P. Bezobrazov (1828-1889), an economist and geographer who lectured in political economy at a St. Petersburg lyceum. He opposed serfdom and called for bourgeois reforms in the interests of the landowners. In theoretical problems he adhered to the school of vulgar political economy. Bezobrazov was the first to read the German edition of Volume I of *Capital* which was received by the library of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences early in 1868.

Otto Meissner, who handled all local and foreign orders for Volume I, informed Marx about the spread of the German edition in Russia. At the close of 1871, the need to prepare a second edition of the book became obvious, for the first was almost completely sold out. In a letter to Marx, dated November 28, 1871, Meissner noted that "readers in Russia were particularly active".

These "readers in Russia", whose attention was attracted by the German edition of *Capital*, were progressive Russian intellectuals. They persistently sought ways for the social reorganisa-

tion of society and wanted the book translated into Russian. Alexander Serno-Solovyovich (1838-1869) spoke about his intention to undertake this task in a letter written in June 1868 to Maria Trubnikova, daughter of Decembrist Vassily Ivashev. "I would have liked to translate K. Marx's *Das Kapital*. Do you think a publisher could be found? It is a voluminous book; its published first part has 800 pages."[1]

The idea of translating *Capital* also germinated among the members of a revolutionary circle of young people called Rublyovoye Obshchestvo (Ruble Society—one ruble being the membership fee). It was founded in 1867-the beginning of 1868 by Herman Lopatin and a group of ideologically like-minded young people with whom he developed a friendship during his student years. This group consisted of N. F. Danielson, M. F. Negreskul, N. N. Lyubavin, N. F. Kirshbaum, F. V. Volkhovsky and others.

Lopatin was born in 1845 into a nobleman's family of modest means. After finishing the Stavropol High School he went to St. Petersburg where in 1862 he entered the University where he studied at the Physics and Mathematics Faculty. According to his contemporaries, Lopatin was a highly educated, versatile person, constantly thirsting for action.

At the University he became associated with revolutionary-minded students, avidly read Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and clandestine literature, and also came into contact with members of revolutionary circles. The unsuccessful shot fired by Karakozov at Tsar Alexander II on April 4, 1866, precipitated a wave of repres-

[1] *Zvenya* (Links), Book V, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. 396 (in Russian).

Herman Lopatin

Nikolai Danielson

Nikolai Lyubavin

Alexander Cherkesov

sions, particularly against the students. Lopatin, who was not involved in the plot, was nevertheless incarcerated in the St. Peter and Paul Fortress. However, things worked out fairly well for him—his detention lasted just a little over two months.

After receiving his diploma and maintaining his thesis, in which he upheld the materialistic outlook, Lopatin declined an offer to work on the faculty. He formed a group of like-minded friends for revolutionary struggle and founded the Ruble Society which had as its aim the organisation of the publication and dissemination of books to promote public education. Unofficially, however, the Society set itself the task of "studying the economic conditions of the people and the extent to which they are capable of responding to the agitation of the revolutionaries". To find the answers to these questions the propagandists intended to "roam" from village to village.

Volkhovsky described the Society as a "circle of honest and capable young people who had their hearts in the right place". They studied social and economic problems and ordered the German edition of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. In 1868, Volkhovsky and Negreskul began to translate this book into Russian, but their work was cut short by Negreskul's arrest. Hearing of the publication of Volume I of *Capital*, the members of the circle ordered and received this work, too, and shortly afterwards decided to have it translated into Russian. The Society was still in its organisational stage when the police learned of it and arrested Lopatin, Volkhovsky and Lyubavin. Lopatin, who conducted himself defiantly and repudiated everything during police questioning, was exiled to

Stavropol in August 1868 and remained there until the end of 1869.

In the meantime, the translation of *Capital* was entrusted to Mikhail Bakunin, a prominent ideologist of anarchism, who had been living abroad since 1861.

Discovering that Bakunin was in very straitened circumstances, Lyubavin asked Nikolai Polyakov, a publisher whom he knew, to find some literary work for Bakunin. It was decided that he should be entrusted with the translation of *Capital*. Bakunin asked for and received a stack of books to help him in this work, and 300 rubles (a quarter of the honorarium), which were sent to him in September 1869. For a long time there was no news from Bakunin, and Lyubavin wrote him asking how he was getting along with the translation. Bakunin replied that he had no intention of giving up the work, but he referred to unexpected difficulties in translating and promised to commence work in December 1869. True enough, in December he did send a part of the manuscript, but it was no bigger than two signatures. In the spring of 1870, Lyubavin received a letter from Sergei Nechayev, an anarchist conspirator, which was evidently written not without Bakunin's knowledge. The letter warned Lyubavin that harm would befall him unless he freed Bakunin of his commitment to translate *Capital*.

Lyubavin wrote an indignant letter to Bakunin but received no reply. Later Bakunin said that he had replied, promising to return the 300 rubles which he had received in advance as soon as he could possibly manage it. However, he never did return the money.

Besides being Marx's ideological opponent, Bakunin had no special knowledge of economic

literature and, consequently, was not at all suited to be a translator of *Capital*. In a letter to his young friend Richard, a Lyons anarchist, Bakunin wrote: "... mornings I am very busy translating, which I am doing for the sake of money, evenings I am occupied with serious correspondence...."[1] Some remarks dropped by Bakunin showed that *Capital* was beyond his comprehension: he called it "Marx's economic metaphysics", "an extremely important, learned, profound though somewhat abstract work".[2] Bakunin's inability to grasp *Capital* is borne out by an excerpt from his letter to Lyubavin which the latter brought to Marx's attention. "I strongly suspect," Lyubavin wrote, "that Bakunin has lied. He quotes a phrase from your book: 'Value is petrified labour' and says: 'Marx's simply joked; incidentally he personally admitted as much to me.' "[3]

As a result, Bakunin's translation was unsatisfactory. In the opinion of Danielson, the future Russian translator of *Capital*, Bakunin's translation of a part of the first chapter was so poor that it could not be used at all.

Bakunin's unsuccessful attempt only delayed the publication of the Russian edition of *Capital*. But things started moving with the appearance of a translator who had the necessary knowledge and the desire to perform this work. This translator was Lopatin.

Lopatin left Russia without an exit permit and came to Paris where he lived from January to

---

[1] Marx-Engels Archive, Book III, Moscow-Leningrad, 1927, p. 359 (in Russian).

[2] J. Guillaume, *L'Internationale*, t. I, Paris, 1905, pp. 259-62.

[3] *Literaturnoye Nasledstvo* (Literary Heritage), 1941, No. 41-42, p. 158 (in Russian).

June 1870. Earlier he had organised the escape from exile of Pyotr Lavrov, a publicist and one of the ideologists of Narodism. In Paris Lopatin continued his theoretical education—he studied *Capital*—and acquired a practical knowledge of the working-class movement by joining a section of the First International. He established personal contacts with its leaders, including Charles Keller, a native of Alsace who knew German and who at the time was translating Volume I of *Capital* into French.

The thought of translating *Capital* occupied Lopatin more and more. Realising that only its author could help him make up his mind, he decided to go to England where Marx lived at the time and talk with him personally.

On August 30, 1870, he wrote to Lavrov from London: "I have had many proposals to translate Marx's *Capital*, but thus far I have invariably declined them. Recently, however, having read this book almost to the end, I sent word that I could translate it, all the more so if my residence in the same town with its author is taken into account."[1]

Before leaving Paris, Lopatin obtained a letter of recommendation from Marx's son-in-law Paul Lafargue, a leader of the French working-class movement, whose acquaintance he evidently made through the good offices of Charles Keller. Lafargue informed Marx that "a young Russian, a certain Lopatin" would call on him.

Arriving in England, Lopatin settled in Brighton. On July 2, he went to see Marx in London. His anxiety could well be imagined. He expected

---

[1] *Voprosy Istorii* (Problems of History), 1951, No. 3, p. 38 (in Russian).

a cool reception and feared lest he should run out of topics during the conversation with such a brilliant thinker. Neither did he know in what language he would have to speak with Marx. But all his fears proved to be groundless: Marx spoke French, and Lopatin had no difficulty in understanding him.

There were more than enough topics for conversation, ranging from Lopatin's life story to the destiny of Chernyshevsky whom Marx held in high esteem. Lopatin was invited to spend the following day with Marx and his family. That was the beginning of their friendship.

Lopatin was always a welcome guest. The mistress of the house asked him to stop over whenever he came to London and to lunch with them, at least until his knowledge of English would be adequate enough to permit him to manage his affairs with the necessary thrift. Marx's younger daughter Eleanor taught him English, and he made rapid progress under her guidance.

The Marx family was charmed by their new acquaintance from Russia.

An excellent judge of people, Marx immediately realised that Lopatin was an outstanding personality and not just an honest, clever and well-read young man. Lopatin was well informed about developments in Russia, the mood prevailing in all sections of Russian society and about all revolutionary trends and groups.

In a letter to Engels, dated June 5, 1870, Marx said that Lopatin had a lively, critical mind, a cheerful disposition and the patience and endurance of a Russian peasant satisfied with what he has.

Later, having come to know him better, Marx wrote to Engels (on August 3, 1870), that he

would help Lopatin overcome some weak points in his socio-political views, and, particularly, help him get rid of his national prejudices.

Association with Marx was an essential prerequisite for Lopatin's plan to translate *Capital* into Russian. Now that he had an opportunity to consult with the author, Lopatin sat down to his translation. He moved to London to be closer to Marx. On August 26, 1870, he wrote to Lavrov: "... spent the whole week translating like mad." Lopatin considered that the text of the first chapter, which was most difficult to understand, had to be revised. Marx, who had heard the same from Engels and Kugelmann, agreed and promised to combine the first chapter and the appendix and simplify the text. In the meantime he suggested that Lopatin should start translating the second chapter.

Lopatin plunged into work. He sat late into the night in the Library of the British Museum, reading in the original the works of many authors whom Marx had quoted in *Capital*. At times he discovered that they were more confused in their ideas than Marx had thought them to be. In such cases Marx took note of Lopatin's remarks and introduced corresponding additions into his work. For example, he made an addition to a footnote about some confused notions set forth by the English vulgar economist Nassau William Senior. This addition first appeared in the Russian edition. Footnote 30a was also included on Lopatin's suggestion.

In a number of cases Lopatin made comments on the text. In the part dealing with money as a means of circulation Lopatin in a footnote explained Marx's use of the word "Geldlarve" as follows: "In the original 'Geldlarve', i.e., money

at a certain stage of its metamorphosis which the author compares with the metamorphosis of insects."[1]

Lopatin should be given credit for taking the first steps towards developing a scientific terminology for use in Russian works on political economy. Thus, the term "Mehrwert" is correctly translated as surplus-value. Subsequently Danielson used the terminology elaborated by Lopatin under Marx's guidance in the other volumes of *Capital.*

"Regarding land rent, G. A. (Lopatin—*Ed.*) once voiced the opinion that this theme should be developed, that it was far from exhausted in the first volume, and posed a series of questions before Marx. Screwing his monocle into his right eye, Marx smiled and looked intently at his alert interlocutor: 'And how in your opinion should this question be further developed?' Lopatin explained. 'Well, you'll find all this in the second volume,' Marx replied."[2]

Nothing in the correspondence between Marx and Engels indicated that Lopatin was translating *Capital* into Russian. Lopatin himself said nothing about his work so as to avoid censure on the part of Bakunin's friends. In a letter to Lavrov on August 30, 1870, he wrote: "I would ask you . . . to refrain from telling anyone that I am translating *Capital.* For various reasons it is very important to me. (By the way, Zhukovsky,[3] for example, would never believe that I have started on this translation only recently, a long time after

---

[1] See A. L. Reuel, *Russian Economic Thought. . .*, pp. 227-28 (in Russian).

[2] See *Novy Den* (New Day), 1918, No. 34.

[3] N. I. Zhukovsky—a Russian emigrant, Bakunin's supporter.

this work was positively refused him despite all my efforts and after I was informed in writing that they would rather give up all thought of publishing this work than once again strike a deal with Bakunin, Zhukovsky and Co., even through my good offices.)"[1]

In this period Lopatin took part in the work of the General Council of the International into which he was co-opted on September 20, 1870 with Marx's backing. Lopatin attended all the ten meetings of the Council, presided, reported on the state of affairs in Russia (on the basis of information obtained from letters and newspaper articles) and so forth. It was particularly important that he supported Marx and Engels in their fight for the purity of the International's ranks, against the splitting activity of Bakunin and his associates.

Lopatin did not complete the translation of *Capital* which he had begun so successfully. At the end of November 1870, he received a letter from friends in St. Petersburg. Its content remains a mystery to this day, but what is known is that it played a decisive role in Lopatin's life. It accelerated the realisation of his long-matured plan of liberating Chernyshevsky. The idea came to him when he was in Geneva, and to all appearances it crystallised under the influence of Marx who had great respect for Chernyshevsky and constantly inquired about him. Marx considered, Lopatin wrote in his autobiography, that "Russians should be ashamed that thus far not one

[1] Y. M. Rapoport, *Iz istorii svyazei russkikh revolyutsionerov s osnovopolozhnikami nauchnogo sotsializma* (From the History of the Links of Russian Revolutionaries with the Founders of Scientific Socialism), Moscow, 1960, p. 34 (in Russian).

of them has taken the trouble to draw Europe's attention to such a magnificent thinker; that Chernyshevsky's political demise is a loss not only to the scientific world of Russia but of the whole of Europe. . .".

By taking this decision Lopatin had absolutely no intention of leaving the unfinished translation of *Capital* to its fate. He believed he would be back in London within a few months. "Leaving London," he wrote, "I told no one where I was going, except to those five people with whom I had corresponded and from whom I received money. . . . I did not even tell Marx about my venture." But Lopatin's plan fell through, and he landed in a Siberian gaol from which he escaped only in the summer of 1873.

Lopatin's departure from London in the winter of 1870 did not put a stop to the translation of *Capital*. The organisers of the Russian edition realised that the completion of the translation should not be delayed.

The work begun by Lopatin was continued by Nikolai Frantsevich Danielson, a Narodnik and prominent economist and sociologist, who completed the translation of Volume I and also translated Volumes II and III of *Capital*.

Danielson was born in 1844 into the family of an impoverished Moscow merchant. In 1862, upon graduating from the St. Petersburg Commercial School, he obtained employment at the St. Petersburg Mutual Credit Society (a large private bank) where he worked for more than 50 years. Among the bank's employees in the latter half of the 1860s were Lopatin and Negreskul. Danielson and Lopatin both attended lectures at St. Petersburg University, and their firm friendship evidently began there.

Entertaining identical revolutionary views, Danielson and his friends joined the Ruble Society.

He had great respect for Chernyshevsky and was indignant at the treatment he received at the hands of the tsarist government. Later Chernyshevsky's destiny became a constant topic of his correspondence with Marx.

In 1869 Danielson's home was searched by the police, and in 1870 he was arrested. But that did not deter him, after his release, from sending Marx some of Chernyshevsky's works, including his manuscript of *Letters Without Address*, and materials pertaining to his life and work.

In his reminiscences Dmitry Richter, a Russian economist, statistician and geographer, has some interesting information about Danielson's life. He writes: "As a scientist N. F. belonged to that generally rare (and not only in Russia) type of people, who engage in science not for the sake of earning a livelihood, but for the sake of science itself."[1] Danielson devoted his whole life to translating the three volumes of *Capital* and to his basic work, *Ocherki nashego poreformennogo obshchestvennogo khozyaistva* (Sketches of Our Post-Reform Social Economy). Richter recalled that Danielson led a secluded life. For the most part he worked at home, after his day's work at the bank, in his study which was filled with books he highly valued.

Proof of Danielson's singular modesty was his refusal to meet Richter's persistent requests to write a short autobiography for Brockhaus's and Efron's Encyclopaedia. The only information he

---

[1] *Nedelya* (Week)—Sunday supplement to *Izvestia*, 1965, No. 5.

agreed to submit was the date of his birth. But even this bit of information was obtained after long argument during which Richter managed to prove that the Encyclopaedia had to include the name of the person who had translated into Russian such an important work as Marx's three-volume *Capital*.

"Modesty and shyness," Richter goes on, "prevented Nikolai Frantsevich from becoming personally acquainted with Marx and Engels, although they wished it very much and considered him their friend."[1] Considering himself insufficiently prepared, Danielson hesitated for some time before deciding to start work on the translation, as Lopatin had requested. Before leaving for Siberia at the end of 1870, Lopatin left the translation and all related materials to Danielson whom he regarded as a "university comrade and life-long friend". Fully aware that it would take some time before he could resume the translation, he asked Danielson to see to its completion. Danielson, however, was unable to find another translator. Lopatin had translated Chapters II-V (including "Machinery and Modern Industry"), comprising a considerable part of the book. Expressed in figures, he translated about 500 out of the book's 784 pages, or approximately two-thirds of the text of Volume I. It is quite possible that many years later he could have forgotten how much he had actually translated. Sometimes he would say that he translated the beginning of Volume I; on other occasions—a third of the book. In a letter to Fyodor Batyushkov, a historian of literature, written on September 13, 1913, Lopatin listed the authors whose works he had

[1] Ibid.

translated into Russian from three languages and included the following point: "Marx. Capital. Strictly speaking, I translated only one-third of this work, while the remaining two-thirds were translated after my arrest by two of my friends who used the terminology I had evolved."[1]

This short sentence provides the answer to the question: who were the translators of *Capital.* Two of them, Lopatin and Danielson (pen-name Nikolai—on)[2] were known. The name of the third remained a mystery for a long time. Lopatin disclosed it in 1918 in a newspaper interview—it was Nikolai Lyubavin, Lopatin's and Danielson's friend and member of the Ruble Society.

Nikolai Lyubavin (1845-1918) was born in St. Petersburg. He finished a commercial school with honours and entered St. Petersburg University contrary to the wishes of his father who wanted him to head his commercial firm. Lyubavin met Lopatin in St. Petersburg and they became friends. Subsequently Lopatin drew Lyubavin into the Ruble Society.

At the University Lyubavin was considered a promising chemist, and, upon his graduation, the department sent him to Western Europe for advanced training. There he worked in laboratories under the guidance of Robert Bunsen and his pupil Adolf Baeyer as well as under other prominent scientists.

Lopatin, Lyubavin and Danielson, bound by common interests, always helped each other.

---

[1] *Zabytym byt ne mozhet* (It Cannot Be Forgotten), Moscow, 1963, p. 23 (in Russian).

[2] In the history of the Russian translation of *Capital* there is no single view regarding who initiated the translation: some scholars attribute the initiative to Danielson, others to Lopatin.

During the organisational stage of the Russian translation of *Capital*, Danielson and Polyakov, the publisher, maintained contact with Marx through Lyubavin. With the help of Johann Philipp Becker, a functionary of the First International, Lyubavin obtained copies of *Vorbote*, the organ of the International, the works of Marx and Engels and of Becker himself, all of which were delivered to Danielson. Fulfilling Marx's request addressed to Danielson, Lyubavin sent him the letter which he had received from Nechayev. This helped Marx to unmask Bakunin. For conspiracy's sake, Lopatin carried on his correspondence with his friends in Stavropol through Lyubavin who lived in Prussia at the time. Lopatin went to Siberia under Lyubavin's name and with his papers.

Marx sent his published works to Russia through Lyubavin. The latter forwarded them to Danielson in St. Petersburg through the commercial firm of the elder Lyubavin.

In 1886, Lyubavin moved to Moscow and founded a school of chemists-technologists at Moscow University. Besides several monographs and articles, Lyubavin wrote a seven-volume *Technical Chemistry*, which has retained its considerable importance for science to the present day.

Lyubavin had a very reserved disposition and, true to his old conspiratorial habit, recalled the revolutionary activity of his youth only within his family circle. He lived to witness the October Revolution and bequeathed his extensive and valuable library, which included Marx's works, to Moscow University. Victor Sorokin, a researcher at the Moscow University's History Museum, discovered in the university library several

publications of Marx's works with "N. Lyubavin" impressed on the back of the binding.

Lyubavin translated only the first chapter of *Capital*, which Marx had no time to revise despite his promise to Lopatin, and the appendix. Danielson wrote to Marx in October 1871 that he was loath to deprive the Russian reader of the possibility of becoming acquainted with the magnificent exposition of this chapter because, in his opinion, it was one of the best in the book, even if it was abstract in nature.

The translation of *Capital* and the publication of its Russian edition started off an extensive correspondence between Danielson and Marx, which covered a variety of themes and which was subsequently joined by Engels.[1] In their letters they discussed questions directly bearing upon the translation. For example, in a letter to Danielson dated November 9, 1871, Marx listed all the corrections which had to be incorporated into the Russian edition. Danielson informed Marx and Engels about the political and scientific developments in Russia. He sent them books and magazines and on behalf of Lopatin forwarded the scores of some Russian operas to Marx's daughter. Danielson sent the works of Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov, Saltykov-Shchedrin and other Russian writers to Marx, and also economic, statistical and financial publications to help him study "land relations in Russia" from original sources. Sorting out Marx's books after his death, Engels discovered that his friend possessed a whole library of Russian books which

[1] This correspondence went on for many years, when Danielson was translating volumes II and III of *Capital*, and ended with Engels's death in 1895.

"included very important materials about the actual social situation in Russia".[1] On his part, Danielson collected the works of Marx and Engels which he received from them. In his library, among other books, were various editions and translations of *Capital*, the most important being the French edition with Marx's notes in it which helped Danielson in translating the work.

Marx and Engels were extremely circumspect in their correspondence with Russian political leaders. They knew about the rigid police regime in Russia and exercised every precaution to guard their correspondents against police persecution for corresponding with them. Marx signed his letters either with the initial "M" or with the pseudonym "A. Williams", while Engels—with the initials "L. K." (Louisa Kautsky, his secretary), or "PWR" (Percey Rosher, his wife's relative); the last two abbreviations corresponded to the agreed address to which Danielson mailed his letters to Engels.

Dozens of letters have been preserved from Marx's and Engels's correspondence with Danielson, all of which shed light on the history of the formers' links with Russia. Apart from corresponding with Marx and sending him books, Danielson, in compliance with Marx's request, collected information about Chernyshevsky, whose activity Marx intended to describe in the western press. Subsequently Marx gave up the idea for fear of harming Chernyshevsky. By dragging Chernyshevsky into court the tsarist authorities wanted only one thing: for ever to isolate him from society, to leave the revolution-

---

[1] Engels à Pierre Lavrov, January 28, 1884, CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 4424.

ary movement in Russia without a leader. Any news about the great Russian democrat appearing in the foreign press could only increase the suspicion of the police and worsen his conditions.

In 1873, Danielson, in compliance with Marx's request, sent him a detailed critical review of the literature on land relations in Russia, particularly on the question of land communes.

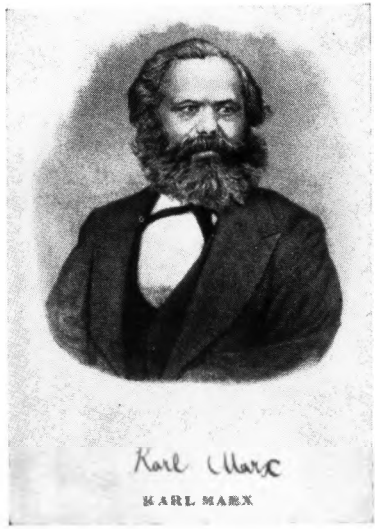
The correspondence shows that Marx and Engels were greatly interested in Russia, in her people and history, her present and future, her science and literature. In their letters they called the Russian people "great and highly gifted", the Russian language "beautiful", and the Russian nation "great" and capable of surviving "any crisis". Marx and Engels gave outstanding representatives of Russian culture their due for the role they played in the history of world culture.

In order to read *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia* by Flérovski (V. V. Bervi) Marx began to study Russian. The fifty-year-old scientist was not daunted by difficulties and three months later read Herzen's *Prison and Exile.*

Marx also read Chernyshevsky's economic writings. "The result," Marx wrote, "was worth the effort that a man of my age must make to master a language differing so greatly from the classical, Germanic, and Romanic language groups. The intellectual movement now taking place in Russia testifies to the fact that deep below the surface fermentation is going on. Minds are always connected by invisible threads with the body of the people."[1]

---

[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* Moscow, 1965, p. 256.



Portrait of Karl Marx which was deleted by tsarist censorship from the first Russian edition of "Capital"

КАПИТАЛЪ.

КРИТИКА ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ ЭКОНОМІИ.

КАРЛА МАРКСА.

ТОМЪ ПЕРВЫЙ.

КНИГА I. ПРОЦЕССЪ ПРОИЗВОДСТВА КАПИТАЛА.

Title page of the first Russian edition of "Capital", Vol. I

Inscription made by veteran CPSU member Pyotr Krasikov on the French edition of "Capital"

This copy is to be found in the Museum of the October Revolution in Leningrad.

After studying Flérovski's book he said that works by such authors as Flérovski and Chernyshevsky did honour to Russia. In 1874 he made an abstract of Bakunin's book *Statehood and Anarchy*. By then he knew Russian sufficiently well to make a flawless translation into German of those passages from the book which he needed, writing down only separate phrases and words in Russian.

"Marx and Engels, who both knew Russian and read Russian books," Lenin wrote, "took a lively interest in the country, followed the Russian revolutionary movement with sympathy and maintained contact with Russian revolutionaries."[1]

Although Lopatin and Danielson were not Marxists, they nevertheless did help to prepare the ground for the spread of Marxism in Russia. Association with Marx broadened Lopatin's outlook and fostered in him a deep sense of internationalism. To quote Lopatin, "the effect of Marx's lively, broad and always active mind on the listener was that of flint on steel; it awakened in the mind of the listener ideas which otherwise would probably have remained dormant". Lopatin creatively tackled the translation of *Capital* and had a good knowledge of Marx's economic theory. According to Lavrov, Marx told him that it was doubtful whether anyone else had grasped the purport of *Capital* better than did Lopatin.

Lopatin's contemporaries testify that he extensively propagandised Marx's economic theory. Vassily Oshanin, geographer and explorer of Central Asia, recollected that Lopatin frequently

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

spoke about *Capital* and its author. Several years after his meeting with Lopatin, who made an indelible impression on him, Tadeusz Rechniewski, a functionary of the Polish Proletariat Party, helped political exiles in Kara, Eastern Siberia, to study *Capital*. Through Lopatin, Afanasy Shchapov, a Russian democrat, and a circle of exiles with whom he was close, became familiar with *Capital*. Per Todorovič, a Serbian who familiarised himself with *Capital* during his student years in Zürich, wrote that he had received a copy of the book from a Russian revolutionary "who was later exiled to Siberia". It is quite possible that this revolutionary was Lopatin. Stepnyak-Kravchinsky's tale *Naumovna the Wise*, popularising the ideas of *Capital*, was most probably written under Lopatin's influence.

But in his subsequent activity in Russia Lopatin failed to use the lessons which Marx had taught him. A professional revolutionary who dedicated his life to the struggle against autocracy, Lopatin accepted Marxism only as a theory; he said that he "came to know socialism as a scientific system and became its supporter". Lopatin failed to see either the emergence of the proletariat in Russia or the historic role it was destined to play, or the possibility of applying Marxism to Russian reality. He was captivated by Narodnik ideas of a special, noncapitalist way of development for Russia.

As regards Danielson, who devoted a considerable part of his life to the arduous task of translating the three volumes of *Capital*, neither his good knowledge of the book itself nor the personal influence of the founders of Marxism had any serious impact on his world outlook. His views reflected the evolution of Narod-

ism to the right, the transition from revolutionary actions against tsarism to positions of liberal Narodism. Endeavouring to substantiate his views, he wrote *Sketches of Our Post-Reform Social Economy* in which he sought to prove that Marx's economic teaching could not be applied in Russia.

"The translator of *Capital* should have displayed greater political tact," Plekhanov wrote to Engels at the beginning of 1895 concerning Danielson's articles which appeared in a reactionary magazine. Fearing that Danielson's articles could harm the working-class movement in Russia, Plekhanov asked Engels to influence Danielson by opposing his views in the press.

In his reply to Plekhanov, Engels wrote: "As for Danielson, I am afraid that nothing can be done with him. I sent him ... materials pertaining to Russian affairs ... especially the appendix of 1894, *partially* directly to his address. He received everything, but as you see, all to no avail. It is absolutely impossible to carry on discussion with this generation of Russians to which he belongs and who believe in the spontaneous communist mission which allegedly distinguishes Russia, the truly Святая Русь (Holy Russia), from other profane peoples."[1]

In his works *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats, A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism,* and *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* Lenin criticised Danielson's views and showed that although Danielson considered himself a supporter of Marx's principles, he, nevertheless, displayed a complete lack of understand-

[1] Correspondance, lettres sur *Le Capital*, p. 414.

ing of Marxism. He overlooked the teaching of class struggle, the focal point of Marx's entire system. In Lenin's opinion, Danielson's basic error was his failure to understand the class struggle characteristic of capitalism.[1]

At the end of October 1871 Danielson completed the translation of Volume I of *Capital*, and the future of the book was entrusted to the publisher who issued it within an extremely brief period—in less than six months.

The publisher of the Russian edition of *Capital* was Nikolai Polyakov. He knew the content of the book and realised that it might not pass censorship, yet he boldly undertook to publish it. Without waiting to receive the manuscript, Polyakov inserted a notice in the *St. Peterburgskiye Vedomosti* on August 4, 1868, announcing the forthcoming publication of the book.

Nikolai Polyakov (1843-1905), a land surveyor's son, was born in Saratov Gubernia. In 1860 he finished high school and entered the Physics and Mathematics Faculty of St. Petersburg University from where he was expelled the following year for participating in student disorders.

In 1865 Polyakov became a publisher and continued in this field for eight years in the course of which he issued 44 books and prepared another 15 for publication, most of which were translations. He published the works of Dobrolyubov, Shchapov, Lavrov and other Russian writers who were persecuted by the authorities. The foreign literature in Russian translation issued by Polyakov included the works of the radical German publicist Ludwig Börne, the author

[1] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 308.

of *Briefe aus Paris*, about the revolutionary movement in France, books by Voltaire, works by English bourgeois philosophers and other writers. The censor constantly tormented Polyakov: he was refused a license for publishing books, and those already issued were either banned or destroyed. Even work by Herbert Spencer, English positivist and opponent of socialism, was destroyed by the censor's office, because its "author undermined the principles of monarchy and the right of ownership".

Publicist-Narodnik Flérovski (V. V. Bervi), whose books were published by Polyakov, characterised the latter in the following words: "A certain Polyakov, a man of nihilistic views who lived among people that remained after Chernyshevsky and shared his outlook, published books containing extreme views. He was a man with fixed ideas and printed only those works whose content was of definite value but whose publication encountered great obstacles on the part of the censor's office.... It was his aim to publish books without any distortions, changes or deletions, and he fought for every word in them...."[1]

For the sake of conspiracy he did not print his name on some editions. But this measure did not save him from the censors. In 1873, the authorities burned *Novels and Stories* by Denis Diderot, the last book Polyakov ever published. He appealed to the tsar for protection, but in the end was compelled to give up his publishing activity.

Having published Volume I of *Capital* in Russian translation, both the publisher and the translator anxiously awaited the censors' reaction.

---

[1] *Golos Minuvshego* (The Voice of the Past), Book 1, 1916, p. 211 (in Russian).

This time, however, the censors committed a "gross blunder" by permitting the publication of the Russian edition of *Capital* which they regarded as a "strictly scientific", "difficult and hardly comprehensible" work. Despite its "clearly socialist" nature, they were unable to find that letter of the law under which it could be banned. They did not believe that Marx's teaching could be applied to Russian reality and underestimated the revolutionary impact of the book. The short-sighted officials considered that "few would read it and still fewer would understand it". Nevertheless, they prohibited the publication of Marx's portrait, fearing that it would be taken as a "sign of special respect for his personality". In this connection the Russian edition of *Capital* received world-wide publicity. Upon learning that the Russian censorship had forbade the publication of Marx's portrait, Maurice Lachâtre, the publisher of the French edition, made up his mind not to issue the book without Marx's picture and succeeded in obtaining permission to have it printed.[1]

Finally, after all obstacles raised by the censorship had been surmounted, the Russian edition of *Capital* was put up for sale at Alexander Cherkesov's bookshop. Here again the destiny of the book fell into the hands of a progressive Russian intellectual. At the beginning of 1862, the *Sovremennik* (Contemporary), organ of the Russian revolutionary democrats, informed its readers that a new bookshop with a library had opened on Nevsky Prospekt in St. Petersburg. The library was organised by Nikolai Serno-Solovyovich, a revolutionary democrat, and Alexander Sleptsov, a staff member of the *Sovremennik.*

[1] See Chapter III.

The library, which occupied cozy premises, subscribed to 40 magazines and newspapers, including foreign publications. All its books had once belonged to Matvei Olkhin.[1]

On sale in the bookshop were works by progressive Russian and foreign writers, the latter in Russian translation. Some of them were published by Cherkesov as, for example, Schlosser's multi-volume *World History* translated into Russian by Chernyshevsky during his exile, and Ernst Becher's *The Labour Problem in Its Present-Day Meaning and Ways of Solving It*; it had a supplement—the Rules of the First International—which appeared in Russia in 1869 and was Marx's first work to be published there. The owners of the shop did not seek material gain but had as their aim the dissemination of books which would make people think and raise the general educational level of students.

Nikolai Serno-Solovyovich, a thinker, publicist and poet, a disciple of Chernyshevsky's school, dedicated his life to the people's cause. He was an active member of the "Zemlya i Volya" (Land and Freedom) secret revolutionary organisation of the Narodniks. In the 1860s, Serno-Solovyovich's library was virtually the centre of propaganda and other activity of the organisation. He and Chernyshevsky became victims of the police terror unleashed by the tsarist government in the

[1] Libraries for reading attached to bookshops, i.e., private libraries where books could be read for a fee, first appeared in Russia at the close of the 18th century in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

In a way these libraries were literary clubs as, for example, the famous library of V. A. Plavilshchikov and his successor A. F. Smirdin, which Pushkin frequented. In the 1840s, Plavilshchikov's traditions were continued by Olkhin.

1860s to suppress revolutionary sentiments. He was arrested in 1862 and three years later sentenced to permanent exile in Siberia. On his way there he fell ill, and his death followed in 1866.

Serno-Solovyovich's book business was subsequently taken over by his friend and fellow student Alexander Cherkesov (1839-1912). In their youth the Serno-Solovyovich brothers, Nikolai and Alexander, and Alexander Cherkesov were members of a socialist literature circle. Cherkesov was a wealthy landowner and used the advantages this gave him to conduct revolutionary activity. In 1862 he attempted to set up an illegal printing press in his estate, but, threatened with arrest, went abroad under the pretext of visiting the London World Fair. During his stay in England he associated with Herzen, Ogaryov, Bakunin and others and subsequently had to answer for his contacts with "London propagandists". His activity attracted the attention of the gendarmerie which summoned him to Russia. He returned of his own accord on August 13, 1865. Three days later Cherkesov was arrested and released in October of the same year only to be placed under secret police surveillance until 1867.

That year Cherkesov was granted permission to open a library. He managed to restore Serno-Solovyovich's book business and, like the former owner, supplied the students and the provinces with what he called "healthy books" and whenever possible helped spread illegal literature.

Cherkesov's bookshop had a branch in Moscow which was managed by Pyotr Uspensky; the bookshop in St. Petersburg was run by Vassily Yevdokimov and its salesman was Fyodor Vol-

khovsky. All of them were friends who shared the same views and participated in the revolutionary movement.

The shop sold the works of the paleontologist V. O. Kovalevsky, books by Flérovski (V. V. Bervi) *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*, and *The ABC of Social Sciences*, spread illegal publications, revolutionary appeals, etc.

In 1871, Cherkesov and the historian and publicist Maxim Antonovich successfully evaded censorship. The authorities had prohibited the publication of Nikolai Radishchev's *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*. But Antonovich wrote an introduction to the eighth volume of Schlosser's *World History* in which he retold Radishchev's book, quoting passages bearing upon the most acute political problems. The bookshop and library were frequented by revolutionary-minded young people, some of whom were sold books at a discount ranging from 20 to 60 per cent. There were times when Flérovski's booklet *The ABC of Social Sciences* was distributed free of charge.

Cherkesov and Yevdokimov helped revolutionaries to escape across the border. On Cherkesov's estate, for example, a trotter was specially trained to take off at full speed as soon as someone jumped into the *droshky* into which it was harnessed. It was this trotter that carried Stepnyak-Kravchinsky to safety after the assassination of Chief of Police Mezentsov in 1878. Shortly afterwards Stepnyak-Kravchinsky fled across the border. The horse and *droshky* as well as the driver Adrian Mikhailov, a member of Lopatin's Stavropol circle, were discovered much later.

Yevdokimov helped Anna Yevreinova, daughter of the Commandant of Peterhof, to flee Rus-

sia. She wanted to commit suicide because her father encouraged the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich's courting of her. Following the advice of her friend Sophia Kovalevskaya, who later became a prominent mathematician, she sought Yevdokimov's assistance. He gave her money and advice. In the autumn of 1869 she fled Russia without a passport, crossing the frontier in a marshy spot at night, and successfully reached Heidelberg where she was met by Kovalevskaya, the latter's sister Anna Corvin and others. Lacking experience in matters of conspiracy, she wrote a letter to Yevdokimov, informing him about a meeting of workers which she had attended and sharply criticising the situation in Russia. The letter was intercepted by the gendarmerie, and both Cherkesov and Yevdokimov were arrested. They were released in February 1870.

In 1871, a search was conducted in Cherkesov's bookshop, during which 300 copies of Flérovski's *ABC of Social Sciences* were found. Once again the authorities placed Cherkesov and his shop under strict surveillance.

On April 8, 1872, freshly printed copies of the Russian edition of Marx's *Capital* appeared in Cherkesov's[1] shop. Danielson promptly sent

---

[1] In 1869 Cherkesov was elected Justice of the Peace in St. Petersburg. Soon afterwards he was arrested. After his release he took up the legal profession; he was defence counsel in the big political trial of Narodnik-propagandists, known as the "Case of the 193", and was once again placed under police surveillance. The police did not leave him alone until he was an old man; he spent his last years in the province where he held the office of Justice of the Peace.

At the close of the 1870s, Cherkesov went completely bankrupt, and both the bookshop and library were closed down; but eventually the bookshop was reopened. The

Marx a copy. On May 28, 1872, Marx wrote a letter thanking him for the book and noted that the "translation was *masterly*".[1] At the time Marx and Engels were still only dreaming of an English translation of *Capital*, while the first series of the French edition were just being printed.

Thus, after the appearance of *Capital* in Germany, Russia became the first country to convey to the readers the might and greatness of Marx's economic teaching in her native language.

Owing to their close ties with progressive Russians, Marx and Engels received timely information about the publication of *Capital* in Russia and the reception accorded it by the public.

Marx's friends in Germany also hastened to inform him about the appearance of the Russian translation of *Capital*. Publicist Sigismund Borkheim, Marx's friend, who knew Russian and regularly read the latest Russian periodicals, brought him the news in the middle of April 1872. At the end of July of the same year he wrote that he had made arrangements to obtain Russian press reviews of the translation.[2]

Marx attached great importance to the Russian edition of *Capital* and regularly informed his friends about the progress of the translation.

Lessner recalled that the day Marx received news of the publication of the Russian edition became a real holiday for him and his family. At the close of June 1872, Jenny, Marx's daughter, sent a letter to Kugelmann in which she wrote: "As regards the Russian translation

shop remained open until 1918, although it was run by other people.

[1] *Marx-Engels Werke*, Bd. 33, S. 476.

[2] S. Borkheim to K. Marx, April 19 and July 23, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2848.

which is excellent, a thousand copies of it have already been sold."[1]

Indeed, some six weeks following the publication of *Capital* in Russian translation almost a third of the edition was sold. This was due not only to the interest for the subject of the book, but also to the fact that the progressive part of the Russian public knew in advance that it was being published from notices carried by the press.

Cherkesov inserted the first notice of the forthcoming publication of *Capital* in the newspaper *St. Peterburgskiye Vedomosti* which had its offices in his shop. Subsequently, similar notices, eight in all, were carried by *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*, the magazines *Znaniye*, *Vestnik Yevropy*, *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* and others. At the time *St. Peterburgskiye Vedomosti* was gaining popularity because of its liberal political statements, but in effect it was opposed to the use of revolutionary methods in the struggle against the autocratic regime. It also carried the first review of *Capital* by V. P. (V. Pokrovsky) who had earlier read its German edition and in 1870 printed his essay *What Is a Working Day?* in *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*. Shortly afterwards other newspapers also published reviews of the book.

Olga Markova has compiled an annotated bibliography of approximately 170 different newspapers, catalogues and memoires, describing how *Capital* was received in Russia.[2]

Marx was keenly interested in the comments about his book in Russia. Danielson and other Russian friends wrote him how the book was

---

[1] *Movimento operaio*, N 2, 1955, p. 291.

[2] See *Letopisi Marksizma* (Chronicles of Marxism), 1930, No. 1 (XI), pp. 123-49 (in Russian).

received and sent him press reviews and articles about *Capital*. He mentioned the most important of them in his correspondence as well as in prefaces and afterwords in other editions of *Capital*. For instance, he referred to the article carried by the *St. Peterburgskiye Vedomosti*, and cited long passages from a review carried by the *Vestnik Yevropy* whose author, a bourgeois economist, named Kaufman, succeeded in understanding Marx's method and devoted his article to it.

On May 23, 1872, Marx sent a letter to Friedrich Sorge, informing him about a positive review of *Capital* carried by *Novoye Vremya* (New Times), a moderately liberal newspaper. He wrote in part: "An excellent Russian translation has appeared in St. Petersburg. A *Russian* socialist newspaper *Die Neue Zeit* (German translation of the Russian title) recently carried a leading article of five columns greatly lauding my book.... For this it received a warning from the police and was threatened with closure."

But the majority of the reviews published in those years were written by opponents of Marx's teaching who sought to vilify and refute it. Such articles appeared in the *Birzheviye Vedomosti* (Stock-exchange Gazette) and *Syn Otechestva* (Son of the Fatherland)—organs of the industrial bourgeoisie.

In contrast with the West where bourgeois economists avoided mentioning Marx's work, in Russia the problems raised in *Capital* provoked a lively polemic on the pages of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, which had a following of revolutionary-democratic intelligentsia, in the *Vestnik Yevropy*, a liberal-bourgeois literary and historical monthly, and in other periodicals. The great interest aroused by the appearance of *Capital* in Russia

was largely due to the discussions, which were in progress at the time, on problems of political economy, the historical conditions of the formation of capitalism, and the possibility of Russia following the capitalist road of development. Lenin wrote that almost immediately after the appearance of *Capital* the destiny of capitalism in Russia became the "principal theoretical problem".[1]

The polemic was started by Manager of the State Bank Yuly Zhukovsky, a Russian bourgeois economist, who wrote an article entitled *Karl Marx and His Book About "Capital"*, portraying Marx as a utopian socialist whose ideal was pre-capitalist relations of production. Others taking part in the polemic were publicist Mikhailovsky, an ideologist of Narodism; Chicherin, a bourgeois sociologist; and Kiev University Professor Sieber, an outstanding Russian economist and propagandist of Marx's teaching. The latter's articles undermined the foundations of Narodnik theories and induced progressive young people to pursue Marxism.

In the Afterword to the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*, Marx praised Prof. Sieber's work *David Ricardo's Theory of Value and of Capital* and noted that he referred to his theory as a logical sequel to the world's finest achievements in economics. Still, Sieber failed to identify the revolutionary essence of Marxism with the theory of the liberation movement of the working class. In 1881 Marx personally met Sieber.

In his article *Karl Marx on Trial by Y. Zhukovsky*, Mikhailovsky, while making a pretence

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 267.

of defending Marx, in effect endeavoured to substantiate the Narodnik view that Russia had a "special road" to follow in her development.

Marx was well informed about the polemic and in 1877 wrote a reply to Mikhailovsky in the latter's official capacity as editor of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*. But he did not intend to have the letter published in Russia, fearing that if his name was mentioned it could jeopardise the very existence of the magazine. Engels discovered the original of the letter only when he sorted out the books and papers left by Marx.[1] In a letter to Danielson, dated November 28, 1878, Marx bitingly ridiculed Chicherin, the enemy of socialism, for "criticising" *Capital* from the standpoint of bourgeois political economy.

The problems posed in *Capital* were discussed not only by scientists and publicists. Marx's immortal work above all aroused the interest of Russian revolutionaries languishing in prisons and in exile. They thoroughly studied the book, and their propaganda of it, undeterred by prison walls, reached all corners of multinational Russia.

The political prisoners, who in the 1860s were serving their sentences in Alexandrovsky Zavod together with Chernyshevsky, used his books which he willingly loaned them. Among other works, he had the German editions of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and Volume I of *Capital*, and also the Russian edition of the latter work which his friends had sent him.[2]

---

[1] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 311-13.

[2] Chernyshevsky made no direct mention that he had read the works of Marx and Engels, for living in exile as he did prevented him from giving free expression to his

At the end of 1872, the prominent St. Petersburg workers-propagandists Pyotr Alexeyev and Mark Malinovsky read the Russian edition of Volume I of *Capital*, which had just come off the press, in a circle of revolutionary Narodniks.[1]

Narodnik Solomon Lion explained in popular form the content of some parts of *Capital* to the workers, who, he said, listened with great interest and avidity.[2]

The leaders of the North-Russian Workers' League Stepan Khalturin and Victor Obnorsky, according to their contemporaries, read Marx's works. In the summer of 1873, Obnorsky attended lectures delivered by Narodniks Stepnyak-Kravchinsky and Klements who in popular form expounded the content of some parts of Volume I of *Capital*. When the members of the South-Russian Workers' League in Rostov-on-the-Don were arrested in 1876, *Capital* was found in their possession.

Dwelling on the popularity of *Capital* in the 1870s, Sergei Kovalik, a Narodnik who was among those on trial in the "Case of the 193", described how it instilled in young people a hatred for the prevailing social and political regime. "By his harmonious system and profound criticism Marx created such a powerful impression on young intellectuals that it could be compared only to the impression created by Darwin in his time."

Underground revolutionary groups resorted to

---

thoughts. The question whether or not Chernyshevsky was familiar with their works is still discussed by Soviet historians.

[1] See *First International*, Part 2 (1870-1876), p. 485 (in Russian).

[2] Ibid., pp. 485-86.

diverse methods of preventing *Capital* from falling into the hands of the authorities. A copy of the work, which was passed from hand to hand in a Riga prison, was bound into an illustrated volume of Jack London's stories. Members of Marxist circles in Chita hid it between the covers of the Gospel.

It would be wrong to assume that all who read *Capital* understood and assimilated its content, but, nevertheless, the ideas it contained did become increasingly widespread. Marx's theory gave revolutionary Russian intellectuals and Russian workers a clear understanding of the methods and aims of proletarian struggle.

For multinational Russia the publication of the Russian translation of *Capital* was an important event.

The well-known Georgian publicist Nikolai Nikoladze, whose name is associated with the progressive democratic development of Georgian social thought of the 1870s, familiarised himself with *Capital* by reading the proofs of the Russian translation.

The Russian edition was studied in Odessa circles whose members were Georgian and Russian students. This edition was sent from Tbilisi to Georgian political prisoners in Siberia. The Bolshevik Alexander Tsulukidze read *Capital* in Russian and in 1897 enthusiastically referred to the book as "a manual, a guide and a beacon".

In the 1870s, young Lithuanians in Vilnius also studied the Russian edition of *Capital*. Russian translations of Marx's and Engels's works, including *Capital*, were spread in Byelorussia. Progressives in the Ukraine were closely associated with the revolutionary movement in other parts of Russia and received Marxist books, *Capital* among

them, from St. Petersburg and Moscow. Young people in Poland became conversant with the propositions expounded in *Capital* by reading its Russian edition, and this eventually gave rise to the idea of having it translated into Polish. Other facts also indicated the growing popularity of the Russian translation of *Capital* in Russia.

The Russian edition of the book has always been of inestimable assistance in translating *Capital* into the many languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Some translations were made directly from the Russian version, as, for example, the Byelorussian edition of Volume I.

The first Russian edition of *Capital* was greatly instrumental in spreading Marxism not only in Russia but in other, especially Slavic, countries. The Russian edition became particularly widespread in Bulgaria because of the lexical affinity of the Bulgarian and the Russian languages. This was of immense significance for the Bulgarian revolutionary movement, because the first complete translation of *Capital* into Bulgarian was made only in 1909.

Georgi Bakalov, one of the first Bulgarian Marxists, once wrote that both Narodnik socialism and the teaching of Marx and Engels took root in Bulgaria under the influence of Russian literature, the only literature that was accessible there at the time. Russian progressive social thought always evoked favourable response in Bulgaria. The outlook of revolutionary democrats Vasil Levsky and Khristo Botev, leaders of the Bulgarian liberation movement, was moulded under the influence of the works of the great revolutionary democrats Herzen, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov.

The two nations maintained ties through young

Bulgarians studying in Russian educational establishments and through emigrants. While in emigration in Rumania, Khristo Botev became closely associated with Russian revolutionary circles and took part in organising the dispatch of illegal literature to Russia.[1] Russian socialists in London and Zürich asked him to act as a link between them and Bulgarian revolutionaries and offered to exchange propagandists. After reading Marx's *The Civil War in France* Botev's interest in Marx's works increased greatly, and when the Russian edition of *Capital* was published he obtained a copy of the book and studied it. Bulgarian revolutionary democrats created the necessary conditions for spreading Marxism in Bulgaria and were the forerunners of the first Bulgarian Marxists. Among them was Dimitr Blagoev (1856-1924), the founder of the Bulgarian revolutionary Marxist party (Tesnyaks), which in 1919 became the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

Blagoev was educated in Russia, first in Odessa and then in St. Petersburg. There he associated with progressive students and participated in the revolutionary movement. Like his comrades, Blagoev was anxious to master the theory of socialism of which he had read in Nikolai Sieber's book devoted to Marx's *Capital*. But this was not easily achieved owing to the rigid censorship that prevailed in Russia in the 1880s; nevertheless he managed to obtain some of the banned books, including the Russian translation of *Capital* which he thoroughly studied.

Marx's economic theory helped shape Blagoev's socialist outlook, opened his eyes to the mechanism of the capitalist system, and made him aware

[1] See M. Dimitrov, *Khristo Botev*, Sofia, 1948, p. 73.

of the historic mission of the working class—to accomplish the socialist revolution.

Later, when translating *Capital* into Bulgarian, Blagoev used the Russian edition, comparing it with the German original and the French translation.

In 1885, when he was a law student at St. Petersburg University, the police searched his home. They found his copy of the Russian edition of *Capital* but, being ignorant of its content, returned the prized possession to its owner.

Stella, Blagoev's elder daughter, relates another case when this copy could have been lost. It happened when Blagoev and his family were already living in Bulgaria. A fire broke out in their home which consumed the whole house and everything in it. The children were taken out of the burning house just in time, and the Russian edition of *Capital* was the only thing of value which Blagoev managed to save.

In 1892-1893, excerpts from *Capital* were printed in four issues of the *Sotsial-Demokrat* magazine which appeared in Sevlievo. The magazine was published by Bulgarian students in Geneva. The material was collected abroad, while the magazine itself was printed in Bulgaria.

A popular outline of Marx's theory of surplus-value as set forth in *Capital* was fairly widespread in Bulgaria. It was made in 1881 by Szymon Diksztajn, a Polish socialist. The first Bulgarian translation of this booklet was made in Gabrovo and published in 1888.

Marx's book, which was of an epochal significance for the development of revolutionary thought and which raised the liberation struggle of the whole of progressive humanity to a new level, was also studied and spread by Russian

emigrants in Rumania. A circle for the study of Marx's works was formed in Bucharest in 1875. Its members needed a Russian edition of *Capital*, which at the time could be obtained in the U.S.A. from Marx's friend Friedrich Sorge. He inserted an advertisement in *Le Socialiste*, organ of the French sections of the First International published in New York, listing the books which he had on sale, the Russian edition of *Capital* included.[1]

The first Russian edition of *Capital* was reprinted in New York in the 1890s. With the exception of a few insignificant typographical details, this edition was an exact copy of the one brought out by Polyakov. The title page of the first Russian edition, including the date—1872, was fully reproduced.[2] This was done when the 1872 edition was already a bibliographical rarity (the next edition was published in Russia in 1898). However, only several dozen copies of the reprinted edition were spread. This edition was issued by an experienced provocateur in the employ of the tsarist secret political police. For many years he was associated with various political groups of Russian emigrants in the U.S.A. and kept his chiefs posted on everything he knew about their activity.

To avoid exposure he began to make arrangements, somewhat ostentatiously, to have Volume I of *Capital* reprinted. There was an urgent need for the book in Russia because the first edition was completely sold out and the second edition was not yet published. He found a printer in New York and the type to match the one used in the first edition.

[1] *Le Socialiste*, 1873, N 18, New York.

[2] Copies of this edition are available in the library of the IML.

When the book was published he gave several dozen copies to the leading figures in Russian emigrant circles and said that he had sent the rest of the edition to Russia. Actually, however, the remaining copies were either destroyed or dispatched to the Russian gendarmerie.

In the 1870s, the publication and dissemination of the Russian translation of Volume I of *Capital* gave rise to the urgent need of linking up the working-class movement in Russia with Marx's and Engels's scientific socialism. For this purpose the Emancipation of Labour group, the first Russian Marxist organisation founded in 1883, started to propagandise Marxism. It released a programme statement announcing its breach with Narodism and urging for setting up a special party of the working class. The Emancipation of Labour group paved the way for the foundation of the Russian Social-Democracy and took the biggest step forward towards the fusion with the working-class movement.[1] In those years the revolutionary intellectuals, united around this group, made it their task to spread scientific socialism.

"Marx's theory," wrote Plekhanov, the leader of the group, "like Ariadne's thread led us out of the labyrinth of contradictions in which our thought was struggling under Bakunin's influence." Plekhanov familiarised himself with Marx's economic theory while still in Russia. Later, living abroad, he systematically studied the works of Marx and Engels.

Plekhanov's views underwent considerable evolution in the course of his writing an article entitled *The Economic Theory of Karl Rodbertus.*

---

[1] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 258.

In the first two parts written in the autumn of 1881 he placed Rodbertus almost on an equal footing with Marx. But in the third part, which was completed at the close of 1882, he sharply criticised this vulgar German economist and no longer considered him a socialist.

A major task, which the Emancipation of Labour group set itself, was the translation into Russian as well as the publication and spreading in Russia of the most important works of the founders of scientific socialism. Despite enormous difficulties (a desperate lack of funds, shortage of type and literate type-setters, raids by bandits hired by the Russian police who wrecked printing equipment and destroyed the finished product), which greatly handicapped the publication of literature in Russian abroad, the Emancipation of Labour group magnificently fulfilled its task. It was not long before the immortal works of the teachers of the world proletariat became known to broad sections of Russian revolutionaries. The publications issued by the Library of Modern Socialism, including works by Marx and Engels, were widely circulated in Russian revolutionary circles.

Vera Zasulich, one of the founders of the group, translated several works of Marx and Engels into Russian and maintained correspondence with the latter. She wrote Engels suggesting that she should also translate Volume II of *Capital*, but in this matter priority was given to Lopatin and Danielson, and the latter was the one who eventually translated the work. Zasulich sent Engels publications issued by the group, including Plekhanov's *Our Contradictions*. Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, noting the great importance of the publications of the

Emancipation of Labour group, wrote that Lenin had "personally experienced the full force of their influence".

In 1883-1893, the Social-Democratic movement was only just beginning to take shape in Russia. It was a period of the evolution and consolidation of the theory and programme of Social-Democracy. "Social-Democracy," Lenin wrote, "existed without a working-class movement, and as a political party it was at the embryonic stage of development."[1] The problem of linking up the working-class movement with socialism was solved only after Lenin founded the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class in St. Petersburg in 1895. This league assumed leadership of the politically conscious section of the Russian proletariat.

Throughout his life Lenin constantly referred to Marx's and Engels's works. *Capital* greatly influenced the formation of his outlook when he was still a young man. He first heard about it in 1885, while still a high-school boy, from his brother who came to Simbirsk from St. Petersburg for the summer holidays. But it was several years later that he sat down to a thorough study of the book. According to Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova, Lenin's sister, he read Volume I of *Capital* in the winter of 1888-1889. At the time he was a member of a Marxist circle in Kazan where he had moved after living in exile in Kokushkino.

When Lenin studied *Capital*, wrote Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova, "he told me with great enthusiasm and inspiration about the fundamental propositions of Marx's theory and the new horizons which it opened.... He was all buoyant

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 517.

hope which was communicated to all with whom he spoke."

In the Samara period of his life, Lenin passed from studying *Capital* to propagandising it among the local young people. Alexei Belyakov, a member of a study circle, recalled that prior to Lenin's arrival all the circles in Samara showed interest in *Capital*, but after a while gave up studying it. "After listening to Lenin's commentaries," Belyakov wrote, "it became easy to read and comprehend Marx's 'terrible' *Capital*, and the 'inaccessible' Marx became very close to us and easily understood. None of us had ever thought that given good guidance in our studies, *Capital* could be so simple, comprehensible and so easily assimilated."

In the 1890s Lenin began to spread Marxism among workers. Krupskaya recalls that in 1894-1895 he explained the content of *Capital* to workers, linked up theory with practice, taught them how to collect information about their enterprises and to discern concrete forms of exploitation. On the basis of this information he helped them to organise a struggle against the capitalists as, for example, by issuing leaflets containing the material which they had gathered.

Later, while abroad, Lenin familiarised himself with all the works of Marx and Engels. Usually, he read them in the original, writing out quotations and making notes in the books themselves. In his Kremlin library he had more than 150 editions of Marx's and Engels's books. Some of them have his notes in the margins. A particularly large number of marginal notes were made in various editions of *Capital*.

Lenin drew widely on *Capital* in his own works which contain some 300 references to it. In many

cases he quoted Marx in his own translation. He made many references to *Capital*. This is particularly true of *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, *A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism*, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* and other works.

In the course of his theoretical and practical revolutionary activity Lenin liked to "consult Marx", to check his conclusions with the ideas expressed by the founders of Marxism.

Many of Lenin's articles are classical examples of popularisation and further elaboration of the most complex problems of Marxist political economy. He approached this task with the same scientific thoroughness as did Marx in his *Capital*. Lenin frequently used Marx's *Capital* as a weapon for ideologically routing Narodism, "legal Marxism" and similar theories, and for exposing his opponents as crude falsifiers of Marxism. For instance, he exposed Sergei Bulgakov, a "legal Marxist", as one of those who "distort the absolutely clear meaning of a doctrine to which they are opposed by quoting passages out of context and in faulty translations".[1]

In his works Lenin showed the theoretical profundity and the revolutionary role of *Capital* and thoroughly substantiated the historic significance of Marx's great contributions—the materialist understanding of history and the theory of surplus-value. With the appearance of *Capital*, Lenin wrote, "the materialist conception of history is no longer a hypothesis, but a scientifically proven proposition".[2] He called the

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 117.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 142.

doctrine of surplus-value the corner-stone of Marx's economic theory[1] because it revealed the essence of capitalist exploitation and economically substantiated the inevitability of socialist revolution.

Lenin showed that *Capital* would always retain its significance not only because it is a brilliant politico-economic and historical work, but also because it is an extremely profound philosophical study, a magnificent example of the elaboration and application of dialectical materialism.

He drew up a plan of Hegel's dialectics in which he wrote: "If Marx did not leave behind him a '*Logic*' (with a capital letter), he did leave the *logic* of *Capital*, and this ought to be utilised to the full in this question. In *Capital*, Marx applied to a single science logic, dialectics and the theory of knowledge of materialism [three words are not needed: it is one and the same thing] which has taken everything valuable in Hegel and developed it further."[2] Lenin also stressed that the theoreticians of the Second International failed to realise this most important aspect of *Capital* even fifty years after the publication of the book.

A great authority on Marx's and Engels's literary heritage and a tireless propagandist of the ideas of *Capital*, Lenin creatively developed Marxism in new historical conditions and enriched it with his own brilliant contributions.

---

[1] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 26.
[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 319.

CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH EDITION OF "CAPITAL" AND ITS SECRET REPRINTING

The publication of the French edition of *Capital* was launched in 1872, shortly after the appearance of the Russian translation of Volume I, and completed three years later.

This edition was intended to make Marx's economic theory accessible to workers in France and other Latin countries. In this way Marxist political economy became widespread where it was needed most to fight against Proudhonism and other varieties of petty-bourgeois socialism which impeded the development of the working-class movement.

At the time the French workers played a prominent role not only in the history of their country, but also in the international revolutionary movement.

Engels characterised the French proletariat as "the fighting army of progress".[1] In 1871, for the first time in world history, the French work-

[1] F. Engels, "The Workingmen of Europe in 1877", (*The Labour Standard*), March 24, 1878.

ers smashed a state machinery based on class domination and replaced it with genuinely democratic proletarian rule. The Paris Commune had the support of the masses and acted in their interests.

The defeat of the Commune was a serious blow at the French working class and the most progressive proletarian movement of the time. The Communards, the staunchest fighters for France's independence and freedom were crushed.

The defeat of the Commune hurled the working-class movement far back, and the workers were "disabled for years in their fighting power". Thousands of advanced workers who took part in the Commune were either shot, exiled or forced to leave France. Louis Thiers, President of the Republic, set up military courts for the purpose of executing the Communards. These courts were virtually secret tribunals whose agents were particularly active in the workers' districts of Paris.

In the latter half of the 1860s the Paris sections of the First International played a major role in uniting French workers and promoting their class consciousness. They maintained contact with the General Council and helped the strike movement of the miners and other workers on the eve of the Franco-Prussian War. Behind each strike the French ruling classes saw the "hand of the International".

The French counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie drew its own conclusions from the experience of the Commune: early in 1872, the government adopted the Dufaure Law[1] prohibiting the activ-

---

[1] *Annales de l'Assemblée nationale*, Série 2, vol. VIII, Paris, 1872, p. 315.

ity of the International or any other international workers' association. Article 1 of the Law stated that the very fact of the existence of an association whose purpose was to organise strikes, and of one which encroached on the property rights, family principles, religion, etc., would be regarded as an attempt on the existing order. Under the Law, persons participating in the activities of the International were subject to police surveillance, imprisonment (up to two years), deprivation of civic rights and heavy fines.

With the passage of this law the wave of repressions increased. The authorities interpreted its provisions in such a way as to extend their application to all press organs printing any documents released by the International. Although the International officially ceased its activities in 1876, the Dufaure Law remained in force. In 1877, for example, the newspaper *Egalité* campaigned for the release of activists arrested under this law.[1] The French working-class movement was in a state of temporary decline. On May 3, 1873, Engels wrote to Sorge: "The Organisation (International—*A.U.*) in France is routed at present and will recover only gradually, for all contacts are disrupted."

The Paris Commune, which inaugurated a new period in world history, also ushered in a new stage in the international working-class and socialist movement. It posed before the working class in every country the task of setting up its own independent party basing its activity on the principles of scientific communism. Under these circumstances, the publication of a French edition of *Capital* was of exceptional importance.

---

[1] *L'Egalité*, 1877, N 5.

In February 1872, Marx signed an agreement with the publisher about the publication of the French translation of Volume I of *Capital*, 10 years after it had been decided to have it translated.

In 1862, Marx asked his wife to go to Paris where she was assured by friends that her husband's work on political economy would be translated into French following its publication in the original. Many plans pertaining to the translation were suggested: Marx's closest friends and relatives discussed who should be entrusted with making the translation and looked for a publisher.

It was necessary to find a translator who had a thorough knowledge of the two languages. In addition, he had not only to be conversant with the subject of the book, but also capable of grasping and conveying Marx's new theory. Many candidates were discussed and rejected for various reasons.

At the beginning of 1868, a Pole named Jozef Ćwierczakiewicz (1822-1869), known abroad as Card, offered his services as translator. In a letter to Marx he called himself a friend of Johann Philipp Becker. After the defeat of the 1863 Polish uprising in which he had taken part, Ćwierczakiewicz settled down in Geneva where he worked actively in the local section of the International; he was also a secretary at the Geneva Congress of the First International. As most emigrants, he did not have a permanent job and earned a living by translating into French and by writing theatrical reviews.

Marx repeatedly mentioned Ćwierczakiewicz's name in his correspondence with Engels and wrote that there could be no question of his translating *Capital*.

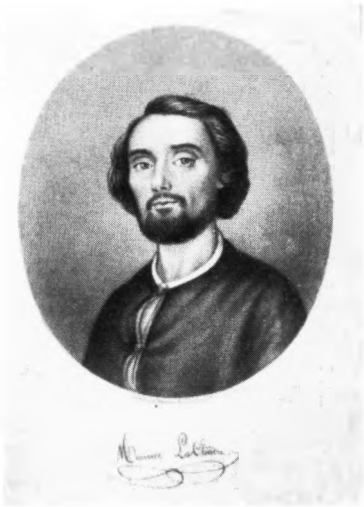
In December 1868, Clemance Royer, a journalist associated with the bourgeois *Journal des économistes*, consented to translate the work. But Paul Lafargue, who talked with her, saw that scientifically she was poorly equipped. He also ascertained her political positions. Clemance Royer did not conceal her contempt for the working class which, in her opinion, was doomed to suffering and hunger.

That winter Marx's friends, lawyer Victor Schili and publicist Ernst Dronke, who had been compelled to leave Germany after the defeat of the revolution of 1848-1849, met in Paris to discuss who should be entrusted with the translation. They advised Marx to send a copy of the German edition of Volume I of *Capital* to the well-known French linguist Emile Littré with an accompanying letter in which he should diplomatically mention that he urgently needed a French translation of the work.[1]

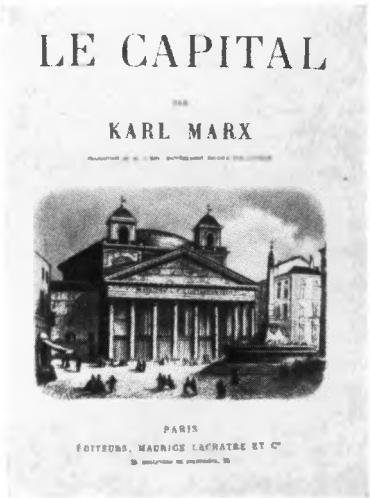
In 1865, Schili, on behalf of Marx, entered into negotiations with Elie Reclus (1827-1904), the elder brother of the celebrated geographer, concerning the translation of *Capital* into French. Reclus consented to translate it together with the German socialist Moses Hess and even started seriously preparing for the job by studying Marx's other works.[2] But the negotiations, which lasted about three years, collapsed. One of the reasons was that the honorarium demanded by Reclus was so large that the publisher would have received no profit from the edition.[3] Soon

---

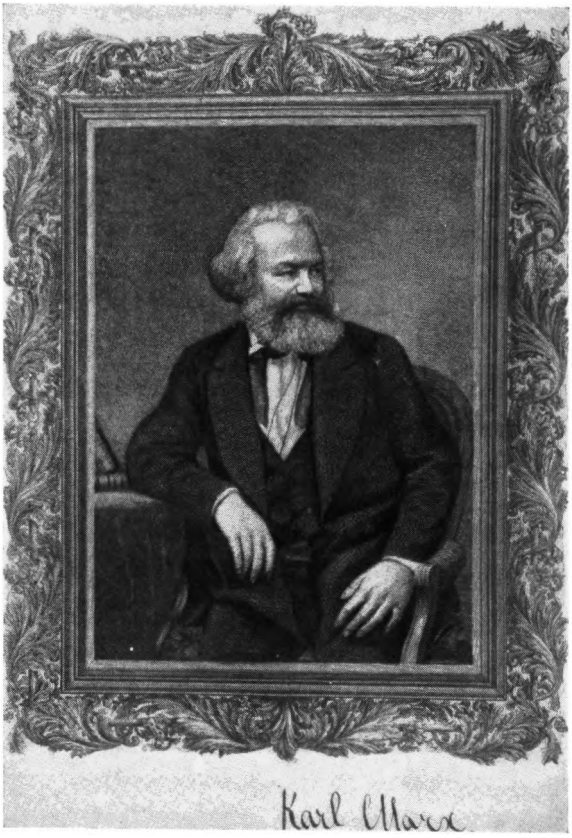
[1] See *From the History of the Formation and Development of Marxism*, p. 373 (in Russian).
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.



Maurice Lachâtre



Title page of the first French edition of "Capital" (1872-1875)



Portrait of Karl Marx in the French edition of "Capital".

afterwards both brothers joined the anarchists and became active in Bakunin's Alliance. Naturally, no more was said about Reclus translating *Capital*.

In 1869, Charles Keller (1843-1913), member of the Paris Federal Council of the International,[1] undertook the translation of *Capital*. Paul Lafargue characterised him as an energetic, enthusiastic and hard-working young man, a confirmed socialist and atheist. At Marx's request, Lafargue went to see Keller in Paris. For several years Keller was manager of his father's factory, but later he broke off relations with him and earned a living by translating for the Baillière Medical Publishers in Paris. He displayed a lively interest in the translation, argued with Marx and Lafargue and consulted them regarding the translation of some terms. He even tried to invent his own as, for example, the word "valorisation", which he used to translate the German term "Verwertung" (growth of value).[2]

Keller made rapid progress, and his work was in the main approved by Marx. By April 1870, he had already translated about 400 pages, but no publisher was available as yet. He repeatedly interrupted his work either to help organise the translation of Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* or because of material considerations. In October 1871, after being wounded on the barricades of Paris, he moved to Basle where he planned to resume the translation of *Capital*. However, this never materialised prob-

---

[1] *La Marseillaise*, 1870, N 57 (Keller's signature on the protest against the arrest of Louis-Eugène Varlin).

[2] See *From the History of the Formation and Development of Marxism*, p. 374.

ably because he embraced Bakuninist positions. But he continued to maintain contact with Marx, inquiring about how the other translator coped with the terminology. According to French sources, part of Keller's translation was printed, but the impressions were subsequently destroyed.[1]

Keller also tried his hand as a proletarian poet. In the period from 1897 to 1908 he published several books of poems under the pen-name of Jacques Turbin.[2]

Among others who undertook to translate *Capital* were Victor Jaclard (1843-1903) and his wife Anna Corvin (1843-1889), both Communards. In his youth Jaclard studied medicine in Paris. At the hospital where he was in training he met Louis-Auguste Blanqui, a French utopian revolutionary who had been transferred from prison to hospital for treatment. Blanqui created an indelible impression on the young man and later exerted considerable influence on his world outlook. After being expelled from college for taking part in the student movement, Jaclard never did complete his medical education.

Enthusiastically welcoming the appearance of *Capital*, Jaclard began translating it in November 1868, fully realising the significance of the work and the responsibility he was assuming. He and his family lived on a small income obtained from private lessons which took up most of his time. This was probably the reason he was unable to go to London to discuss the translation with

---

[1] K. Marx, *Le Capital* (Vol. 1), Paris, 1948, p. 7 (Notes des éditeurs).

[2] Jacques Turbin, *Du fer*, Paris, 1897; *A l'oreille*, Paris, 1899; *La grève générale*, Nancy, 1906; *L'action directe*, S. L., 1907; *Marchons à la bataille*, S. L., 1908 (Cat. général de la Bibl. nat., Vol. 80, pp. 1118-1119).

Marx. All these circumstances prevented him from completing the translation. During the Commune he was in command of the 17th Legion and took part in barricade fighting.

At the close of 1872, news reached Marx that *Capital* had been translated by Jaclard's wife Anna Corvin, a progressive Russian woman. As an active member of the Commune, she took part in the publication of posters, worked in the commission for the reorganisation of women's education, and together with André Leo engaged in daily journalistic activity for the Proudhonist organ and in the Committee of the Women's Union for the Defence of Paris and Assistance to the Wounded, etc.

Replying to Marx's letter, she informed him that the materials she had translated had fallen into the hands of the Versailles police:

"Sir, I deeply regret that absence from Berne prevented me from receiving your letter on time. I beg pardon that for the same reason I was unable to reply earlier.

"I am grateful for honouring me by sending a part of your work[1] and your photograph.

"Unfortunately, I am unable to send you the translation which *I do not have*. The only copy I had has fallen into the hands of the Versailles police. It was made from the first edition and would not have satisfied you. Since then I have done no more than translate certain passages (from *Capital—Ed.*) for a critical article I intended to publish. It is the work which I had earlier proposed to a Brussels publisher. Had it been a

---

[1] Instalments 1-4 of the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital*, or the first series of the French edition.

question of publishing your work as a whole, I would have never trespassed the accepted rules and would have first consulted you.

"As regards the publication of Chernyshevsky's works, I tried to secure the information you had requested, but unsuccessfully. People whom I believed to be well informed contended that they knew nothing and that the publication is shrouded in mystery.

"Please accept expressions of my best wishes. To my great regret I lack the material possibilities to satisfy your wish.

A. Jaclard-Corvin

November 12, 1872 (Zürich.—*Ed.*)."[1]

The problem of finding a French translator worried not only Marx but also his relatives. As far back as 1867, Paul Lafargue discussed the matter with Ludwig Pfau, a poet and journalist, whom he met at the World Fair in Paris. Pfau said that he would be unable to cope with the task and suggested Joseph Roy, the translator of Feuerbach's works into French.

Roy started to translate Feuerbach not because he was commissioned to do so, but because he was attracted to his ideas. The Lacroix Publishers entrusted him with translating Feuerbach's *Religion. Death. Immortality*, which was published in Paris in 1864.[2] Roy sent it for review to the author with whom he was still not acquainted but who had heard about the translation from

[1] A. Jaclard-Corvin to K. Marx, November 12, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3094.

[2] L. Feuerbach, *La religion. Mort. Immortalité*, Trad. de l'allemand avec l'autorisation de l'auteur. Par J. Roy, Paris, 1864.

Edouard Vaillant, a socialist and member of the General Council of the First International. Feuerbach who regarded Roy as a sincere adherent of his ideas, which the latter had skilfully conveyed in his translation, praised him highly and said that it had only a few insignificant shortcomings.[1]

The second mention of Roy as a suitable translator for *Capital* was made by Charles Longuet, an active participant in the French working-class movement, in a letter to Marx written at the beginning of 1872.[2]

Very little is known about Roy's life. The only information furnished by the editors of a German book about Ludwig Feuerbach[3], which mentioned Roy's name, was that he was a translator.

Roy, a schoolteacher by profession, lived in Bordeaux. He gladly accepted Longuet's proposal to translate *Capital* and promised to do it faithfully and swiftly. He lacked the means to visit Britain where he would have been able to do the translation under the guidance of Marx himself.

Starting the translation in February 1872, he completed it at the end of 1873. Roy encountered many linguistic difficulties which caused him a great deal of worry, so much so that he requested Marx to have the translation of the first chapter examined by his friend Edouard Vaillant.

Working on the translation, Roy became interested in Marx's other books and intended to write a brochure about them.[4] There was a period

---

[1] *Ausgewählte Briefe von und an Ludwig Feuerbach*, Hrsg. von W. Bolin, Bd. 2, Leipzig, 1904, S. 304.

[2] See *From the History of the Formation and Development of Marxism*, p. 376.

[3] W. Bolin, *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Stuttgart, 1891, S. 347.

[4] J. Roy to K. Marx, May 2, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 5961.

when Roy was ill and could not work. But realising the importance of the job, he promised to make up for lost time and finish the translation on schedule. It was agreed that Roy would receive his honorarium (1,500 francs) upon submitting the complete translation. Meanwhile he lived on a small teacher's salary and accepted other work for which he got paid, with the result that every now and then he would be late in handing in the proofs. Each time that happened, the publisher would get angry and insist that another translator should be hired.

There were other reasons impeding the translation. Roy translated from Marx's German manuscript of the second edition, and, as is known, Marx's handwriting left much to be desired. Another reason was that Roy lived hundreds of miles from both London and Paris, and his letters as well as the proofs were not forwarded directly to Marx but, to keep the matter secret, were first delivered either to Longuet or Vaillant.

In the course of editing Roy's translation Marx spent several days with his daughter Jenny and her husband Charles Longuet at their Oxford home to discuss separate passages of the book. In order to travel to Paris and to speed up the publication of the French edition of *Capital*, Marx applied for British papers which, however, were refused him.

Roy's translation did not fully live up to expectations.

Marx's opinion of the French translation of *Capital* is universally known: it was so literal that Marx had to revise the whole text in order to render it more intelligible to French readers.

In May 1872, Jenny, Marx's daughter, wrote

to Kugelmann: "The translation of the first part of the book is not as good as could have been expected judging from what had been said about the translator who had translated Feuerbach with notable success."[1] But the same could happen to any other translator, because at the time Marx was the only person who could make a translation that would match the original as regards quality, form and style.

Another interesting fact about Roy as a translator was mentioned in Engels's correspondence with Laura and Paul Lafargue in connection with Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. To all appearance, Roy translated this book but was unable to publish it in full. Only chapters V and IX were printed in the summer of 1893 in the socialist weekly *L'Ere Nouvelle*. In a letter to Laura Lafargue, dated July 20, 1893, Engels wrote that most probably they had been translated by Roy. An analysis of the text shows that he was correct. Roy translated rather freely, deviating in some places from the original and even enlarging on the author's thoughts. Moreover, he inserted a sentence of his own into the translation. In Chapter V, treating of the transformation of product into commodity, Roy added on his own volition: "Marx has proved this theoretically with the help of irrefutable facts in *Capital*."[2] Roy, being a translator of *Capital* who was conversant with the fundamentals of Marx's economic theory, probably felt that he had to insert this phrase even if it meant tampering with the original.

The fact that Roy used the information gleaned

---

[1] *Movimento operaio*, N 2, 1955, p. 289.
[2] *L'Ere Nouvelle*, 1893, N 2, p. 143.

from *Capital* 20 years after translating it also indicated how thoughtfully he tackled the job.

Roy was not personally acquainted with Marx. Charles Longuet's unsuccessful attempt to organise a meeting between the two men at the end of August 1882 only evoked a feeling of disappointment in Marx.

Shortly before Roy began translating *Capital* Paul and Laura Lafargue found a publisher who was willing to issue the book. This happened in Spain where Lafargue was hiding after the defeat of the Commune. In a hotel he met a Frenchman who called himself Lecomte and who had fled France for the same reason. Lafargue spoke to him about the plans to translate Marx's work into French and Lecomte said that he knew a Paris publisher, one Lachâtre, who might agree to issue *Capital*. Lafargue soon discovered that Lecomte and Lachâtre were one and the same person.

Lachâtre, who was often compelled to live abroad due to police persecution in France, was very cautious with strangers and preferred to be Lecomte until he ascertained who his new acquaintances really were.

Lachâtre advanced the following terms: the book would be published in a popular edition with Marx's biography and portrait; he would provide 2,000 out of the 4,000 francs which were needed to launch the publication, while the author would furnish the other 2,000 francs. Lachâtre could be persuaded to publish the book completely at his own expense, but Marx's friends did not advise him to do this, for in that case Marx would forfeit the copyright.[1] Marx intended to

[1] P. Lafargue to F. Engels, December 12, 1871, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2668

borrow the necessary sum from his cousin August Philips, a lawyer living in Amsterdam. But the latter refused, saying that he would have willingly helped Marx as a relative and friend, but not in the matter of furthering the aims of revolutionary propaganda.[1] Thereupon Paul Lafargue advanced the money himself, with the result that the contract with Lachâtre was signed on February 15, 1872.[2]

Maurice Lachâtre (1814-1900), historian and progressive publisher, actively opposed clericalism and monarchy. He was repeatedly subjected to reprisals for his publications. In 1857, for example, he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for publishing Eugène Sue's *Mystères de Paris*. A year after his release he received a still harsher sentence for publishing a two-volume illustrated encyclopaedia. The edition was confiscated, and he was forced to leave France and settle down in Spain.

Lachâtre published books on diverse topics: a book on the organisation of a publishing business, which he himself wrote, a collection of articles on spiritualism, dictionaries and encyclopaedias.

In the 1860s he was associated with publicist Félix Pyat, a petty-bourgeois democrat and publicist who had close connections with the Brussels anti-Bonapartist newspaper *La Cigale* and the anti-clerical and anti-monarchist satirical weekly *Espiègle*. They widely advertised Lachâtre's publications, carried anonymous reviews of the books he brought out, and reprinted various

---

[1] *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 1, part I, 1956, p. III.

[2] See *From the History of the Formation and Development of Marxism*, p. 378.

articles, including Garibaldi's biography, from his dictionaries. Anyone who bought a dictionary was entitled to a free quarterly subscription to *La Cigale*.[1]

During the Commune Lachâtre was in Paris, writing for Félix Pyat's newspaper *Vengeur*. In the days preceding the fall of the Commune Pyat hid in Lachâtre's publishing house on Sevastopol Boulevard in the French capital.[2] After the defeat of the Commune Lachâtre once again found asylum in Spain. In Barcelona he opened a publishing house as well as a jewelry shop. In this connection Lafargue wrote to Marx that Lachâtre "wants to adorn both the body and the spirit".[3] In his publications Lachâtre gave prominence to the slogans of the Paris Commune and printed part of its programme in his book on the history of the Consulate and empire (1874).[4]

He displayed great will and determination in having his works published. When the authorities objected to the printing of his *Histoire des papes* because of its anti-clerical nature, he published it in instalments, eight of which were issued in Paris, the ninth in Brussels and the tenth in Geneva.[5]

He returned to France in 1879, following the the amnesty granted by the government, and resumed his publishing business. In 1880 he issued his *Histoire de l'inquisition.*

---

[1] *La Cigale*, N 44, 46, 47, 1868.

[2] M. Vuillaume, *Mes cahiers rouges*, t. 3, Paris, 1908, p. 306.

[3] P. Lafargue to K. Marx (not earlier than February 14, 1872), CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2765.

[4] Lachâtre, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, Paris, 1874.

[5] Lachâtre, *Histoire des papes*, Paris, 1874.

Subsequently he gave up publishing and opened a wine business in Bordeaux.[1] However, his publications dated 1894, 1895 and 1899 are listed in Volume 84 of the French national bibliography.[2]

Lachâtre launched the publication of the French translation of *Capital* with his usual energy and persistence which neither the distance separating him from the translator nor his émigré status could dampen. He spurred on both the translator, the printers and the author (Marx said that he "pestered" him), straightened out misunderstandings, kept the author informed on inaccuracies he had found in the translation and corrected misprints overlooked by Marx in the proofs. He spared no costs to improve the quality of the edition, its design and print. Lachâtre was always mindful of the author's requests: for instance, he agreed to have quotations from foreign sources translated into French and issued corresponding instructions to Roy. Endeavouring to execute the best possible publishing job, he was dissatisfied with Marx's afterword characterising Roy's translation, and maintained that the inclusion of errata would detract from the value of the book. Nevertheless, he printed the errata but with an accompanying note vindicating the publishers for overlooking the misprints.

Lachâtre had the greatest respect for Marx. He shared with him his ideas about communism and wanted to know whether the end of the book would show that its content is linked with the

---

[1] F. Engels et P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959, p. 563.

[2] *Catalogue général de librairie française de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Vol. 84, p. 1121.

ideas of communism. He advised Marx to write in a less technical language and admitted that he himself understood little of the text. He believed that the French workers had less theoretical grounding than the German and, consequently, would have greater difficulty in understanding the economic theory.[1] Lachâtre was extremely attentive even to the smallest details: for instance, he insisted that the proofs should be printed on thin paper so as to reduce Marx's postal expenditures.

Sometimes Marx would agree with Lachâtre's suggestions. "I am very much obliged to you for your corrections, etc.," Marx wrote to him in May 1874. "I have altered the phrase you mentioned."[2] At other times he disagreed with Lachâtre's recommendations, and the latter could do nothing to make him change his mind. Marx, for example, did not let him delete the date (1867) from the Preface to the first German edition, although Lachâtre maintained that he had no use for the "old" date in his new edition.

Simultaneously with *Capital*, the publishers were preparing for print Lachâtre's anti-clerical *Histoire des papes*. In the design of *Capital* Lachâtre used the picture of the Rome Pantheon printed on the title pages of his book.

The agreement signed with Lachâtre envisaged the publication of *Capital* in 44 instalments, each signature in volume. Owing to large format of the book each instalment had only eight pages (the number of each signature was indicated in the right bottom corner of the corresponding pa-

[1] M. Lachâtre to K. Marx, February 15, 1875, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No 5966.

[2] K. Marx to M. Lachâtre, May 12, 1874, CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 3540.

ges of the edition). As a sample design for *Capital*, Lachâtre sent Marx an instalment of Louis Blanc's *Histoire de la révolution française* which was issued by his publishing house.

Lachâtre insisted that *Capital* should include Marx's portrait and biography, a facsimile of his letter to the publisher and the latter's reply. Lachâtre sent this reply to Marx on March 12, 1872, but omitted the date so as not to give the reactionary government even the slightest pretext for obstructing the publication of the book.

Marx's letter was lost at the post, therefore a week later Lachâtre asked him to write another letter whose text would fit into a single page with wide margins, thus making it stand out in greater relief. He also asked Marx to caption it "Karl Marx au Citoyen Maurice Lachâtre".[1]

To avoid attracting the attention of the censorship, Lachâtre refrained from advertising the book, although the Paris Institute of Social History has a printed prospectus of this edition in its archives.[2] It consists of a part of the first instalment which includes a trial impression of the first five pages of the book, two title pages, Marx's portrait, facsimiles of his letter to the publisher and of Lachâtre's reply. Pasted on cardboard, these pages were kept by the son of Emile Eudes, general of the Commune. It is quite possible that Lachâtre had distributed these pages through his friends because the political situation at the time precluded any other form of advertisement.

It took the artist and the engraver quite some time to reproduce Marx's portrait and autograph, thus causing the first delay in the publication of

[1] M. Lachâtre to K. Marx, March 18, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2807.

[2] *L'Actualité de l'histoire*, 1955, N 10.

the instalments. An interesting detail came to light following the publication of letters written by Marx's relatives in the Italian magazine *Movimento operaio* in 1955: Jenny, Marx's daughter, in a letter to Kugelmann on May 3, 1872, wrote that Lachâtre's wish to have Marx's portrait in the book was a reply to the deletion of his portrait from the Russian edition of *Capital* by the censors.

Apart from Lachâtre, Marx maintained business contacts with Just Vernouillet, a shareholder and manager of the Lachâtre and Company publishing house.

They entered into correspondence on February 16, 1872. Vernouillet sent Marx the proofs and the clean copy of the text and then forwarded them to the printers. There were delays in the delivery of material caused not only by the distance that separated Marx from the publishers, but also by other factors. On one occasion, Marx, by mistake, did not put the required number of stamps on a package he mailed to Vernouillet, with the result that it was not delivered on time.[1]

In the summer of 1873, Vernouillet wrote to Marx requesting him to send a short account of his life and his photograph for *Le Biographe de Bordeaux* where they were subsequently printed.[2]

The two men kept up their correspondence after the publication of the French edition of *Capital*. Vernouillet did not conceal his attachment to Marx and admiration for his work. "I hope," he wrote, "that from the political and

---

[1] J. Vernouillet to K. Marx, November 22, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3100.

[2] *Le Biographe de Bordeaux*, 1873, pp. 104-06.

social point of view the appearance of this edition will be a significant event. I am happy that I too have participated in distributing the book and bringing it to the buyer."

In his correspondence with Marx, Vernouillet did not confine himself to business matters. He shared his views on urgent problems of the day, sought Marx's opinion about the political situation in France and asked how reactionary circles reacted to the appearance of the first series of *Capital*. Following the establishment of a republic in France, Vernouillet wrote a letter to Marx in February 1875, in which he said: "A republic will be preserved in France, but what kind of a republic! For the time being we shall have to be content with it in name only."

Marx also corresponded with A. Dervaux, an employee of the publishing house, on technical matters involved in the publication of the instalments. In August 1872, Dervaux left Lachâtre's firm and evidently became a publisher himself, for in the 1880s his name appeared on some books brought out in Paris.[1] In one of his letters Lachâtre wrote that Dervaux, an artist by profession, had prepared Marx's portrait for engraving.[2]

The first series was published as soon as the portrait was ready. The French edition of *Capital* was sold in series of five instalments. The instalments as such were important only for production and partly for the author and the publisher, while the bookseller and the reader had to do only with series of which there were nine.

---

[1] F. Engels, *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique*, Paris, Dervaux, 1880.

[2] See *From the History of the Formation and Development of Marxism*, p. 380.

The first series consisted of 40 pages, and all nine series had identical covers. One of these covers was used by the publisher when the series were stitched into a book and became a half-title of the first French edition of *Capital.*

On October 19, 1872, Lachâtre informed Marx that the first series had been published on September 17. Here is the letter in full, for it contains interesting information about the edition:

"Enclosed is a report on the daily sales of the first series of *Capital* since the day it was issued, i.e., from September 17 to October 12. The total number of copies sold in this period amounts to 576.

"We have achieved this without any advertisements, articles, posters or notices and even without a prospectus. Absolutely no information was released regarding the forthcoming publication of the book; there was not even a simple announcement which I usually insert on the covers of my other publications.

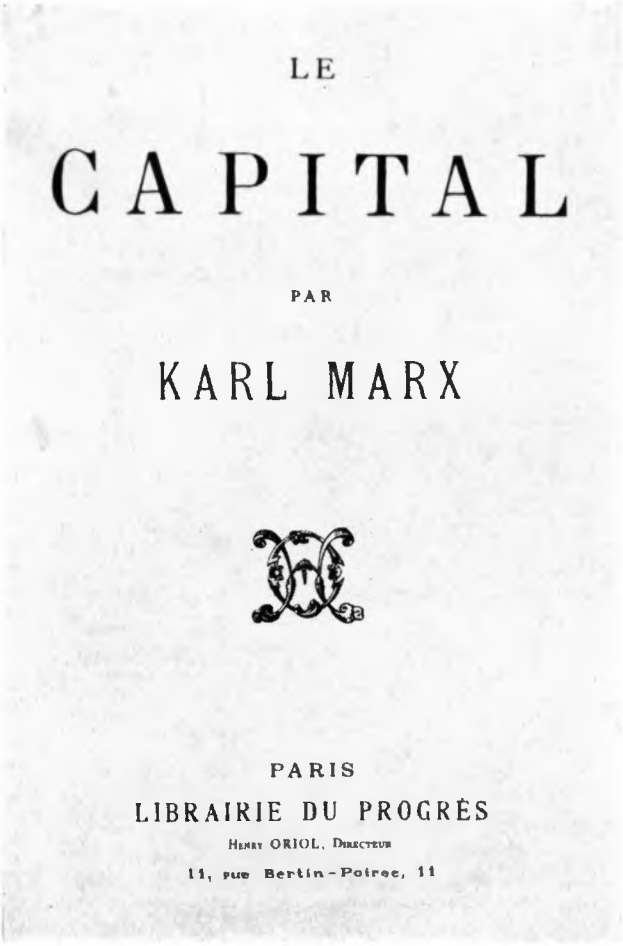
"We should be content.

"Now I am preparing a serial cover for my *Histoire des papes* which will come out in an edition of 22,000 copies; gradually we shall prepare similar covers for other editions, and then sales of *Capital* will go up.[1] But it is essential that the series should be issued regularly, at least once every two or three weeks.

"Sign four or six instalments at a time for the matrixes, but please do everything possible not to have publication interrupted; it is necessary to have your signature authorising the issue of the first six instalments; although the series does consist of five instalments, every two instalments

[1] On the covers of his publications Lachâtre printed notices about the books he had already issued.

The half-title of French editions which was also the cover of the series



One of the covers of the reprinted (1885) first French edition of "Capital"

are printed simultaneously, the sixth together with the fifth, any two instalments come out in a single edition.

"They say that your biography is in great demand in Paris. I hope that you will entrust your friend Engels[1] with the job. We shall publish it at the end of the book, so that in a way it will crown it.

"Yesterday I received the proofs of the 8th and 9th instalments. There were very few misprints; to complete the second series the 10th instalment is required; will you be so kind, dear teacher, as to mail without delay the signed 5th to 10th instalments in view of the legitimate impatience of the subscribers.

"Please convey my regards to Messrs. Lafargue and Longuet and my respects to your daughter Mme Lafargue; I hope that the family atmosphere will help her quickly to regain her health.

"My best wishes to you, dear teacher, and to your near ones.

"Maurice Lachâtre

"Political developments in Spain continue to astonish us; the uprising in Ferrol has been crushed, but at any moment the revolution can flare up in some other place, in Malaga or Barcelona.

"For the Commune and the Federation with the red banner!"[2]

Despite the efforts of the author, the translator and the publisher, the publication of *Capital* was not completed until the end of 1875. The political situation in France following the defeat of

[1] The original says Hegel, which is obviously a slip of the pen.

[2] See *From the History of the Formation and Development of Marxism*, pp. 381-82.

the Commune created serious obstacles, impending the publication of the book. There were many reasons, apart from political ones, that delayed the appearance of Marx's work in print. The author lived in London, the publisher lived either in Spain, Belgium or Switzerland, the translator worked in Bordeaux, while the print-shop was in Paris. Whenever the translator finished a part of the manuscript he would send it to Marx, and the latter would mail it to the printers. Thus, the manuscript would travel about 700 miles. At times the manuscript or galley-proofs would travel from France to Spain via England and once again return to France, covering a distance of some 1,600 miles. Delays were also caused by the amount of work Marx had to put in to correct the proofs. According to Louis Lahure, the owner of the print-shop, Marx made numerous corrections, and there were more of them in the last than in the first proof-sheets.[1] Sometimes proofs were read four times because of the difficult text and the large number of author's corrections.

At the same time Marx continued his intensive activity in the International. As its leader he devoted a great deal of time and energy to extensive correspondence and weekly meetings of the General Council which frequently took place at his home and lasted far into the night. In this period he wrote such important documents of the International as *The Civil War in France* (1871), *Fictitious Splits in the International* (1872), *Alliance of Socialist-Democracy* (1873).

---

[1] L. Lahure to M. Lachâtre, January 3, 1873. Mentioned in Lachâtre's letter to Marx of March 19, 1873, CPA IML, fund 458, file 1, No. 13028.

While editing the French translation, he worked on the second German edition of *Capital* and corresponded with Enrico Bignami concerning the translation of *Capital* into Italian. For lack of time he turned down Wilhelm Liebknecht's proposal to prepare a new edition of *The Poverty of Philosophy*. Additionally, in 1872 Marx edited the French translation of *The Civil War in France*, which was being printed in Brussels, wrote afterwords to the French edition of *Capital* and to the new edition of *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten Prozess zu Köln*. Jointly with Engels he prepared the foreword to a new edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and some other works.

Marx's health was seriously undermined and he suffered from headaches and insomnia due to overwork. He developed liver trouble and constantly suffered from carbuncles.

As a result of all this Marx fell far behind in checking his proofs. Series 2-6, from the 6th to the 30th instalment, appeared in 1873, and series 7-8, up to the 40th instalment inclusive, were published in the middle of 1875. The translator handed in the last part of the manuscript at the end of 1873,[1] and in January 1875 Marx mailed it to the publisher. But he did not lose contact with Lachâtre and impatiently awaited the appearance of the last instalments. He even declined to take a holiday with Engels in Shanklin on the Isle of Wight. He wrote to Engels that his mind would not be at peace until the complete edition would be published.

When only the last series remained to be printed, Broglie's ministry turned over Lachâtre's

[1] See *From the History of the Formation and Development of Marxism*, p. 383.

legal rights as publisher in Paris to an official named Quêst. Lachâtre became yet another victim of the purge conducted by the monarchist-clerical reaction to remove republicans from the government apparatus. According to Marx, Quêst belonged to the "dregs of the conservative party". Quêst did everything he could first to delay the printing of the book and then to prevent its distribution. Vernouillet was also removed from office. He wrote to Marx that before leaving he had made Quêst set up the last series of *Capital*, warning him that otherwise the author would bring the matter to court. However, under the pretext of a lack of funds Quêst delayed the printing for a long time.[1] Marx complained to his friends that the printing of the book was "constantly *interrupted by the French Government.* At last, as I have been informed, the last three instalments, which were composed more than half a year ago, can come off the press".[2]

In reply to Marx's demands to accelerate the publication of the book Quêst declared that he had not read Lachâtre's publications, that he hated them for their tendenciousness, but, as a juridical person, he was obliged to fulfil an agreement concluded with a foreigner. The agreement signed by Lachâtre specified that the author was entitled to 100 copies of each instalment as it came off the press. As regards the last instalments, Quêst fulfilled this commitment only at the close of November 1875.[3] But something hap-

---

[1] J. Vernouillet to K. Marx, July 11, 1875, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 5968.

[2] K. Marx to P. Imandt, September 27, 1875, CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 5745.

[3] Quêst to K. Marx, November 25, 1875, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3600.

pened to the parcel, probably not without interference of Quêst himself. News that the last instalments were on sale at the end of the year was reported by the magazine *Uperyod*, whose chief editor was the Narodnik Pyotr Lavrov.

Thus, the first French translation of *Capital* was published from September 17, 1872, to November 1875. Among the distinguishing features of this edition were the picture of the Pantheon on the title page, mention of Lachâtre as the publisher and Lahure's print-shop, as well as Lachâtre's reply to Marx. According to Marx, the edition was issued in 10,000 copies, although Lachâtre repeatedly mentioned the figure 11,000.[1] Each instalment cost 10 centimes, one series—50 centimes and the whole edition—five francs and six francs in binding. The index compiled by the author was not included due to the fact that the size of the edition would have been greater than provided for in the publishers' agreement. Probably this was also the reason why the translator did not write the foreword which Marx had wanted for the book. It was Roy's intention to write a foreword containing a general outline of Marx's method and a resumé of the first chapter of the work.[2]

The Paris print-shop where *Capital* was printed was established in the beginning of the 17th century and headed by a succession of prominent Paris printers. In the 1870s it was a large enterprise and issued both expensive and inexpensive but well designed editions. It printed about 20 newspapers, works by French classics, books on

[1] M. Lachâtre to K. Marx, November 9, 1874, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3472.

[2] J. Roy to K. Marx, May 2, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 5961.

philosophy, law and history, memoirs, reference books and guide books. In 1870 it became a joint-stock company called Société anonyme d'imprimerie générale headed by the three Lahure brothers. Their assistant was Alfred Bapst. From 1859 to the present day Lahure's printing establishment is situated in Rue Fleurus in Paris.

Marx also corresponded with Louis Lahure on matters connected with the publication of *Capital*. The brothers did not always co-ordinate their actions, and this also caused delay in the appearance of the book. In the autumn of 1872, for example, one of them received a manuscript which Marx had prepared for publication, while the other knew nothing about it and continued asking for it.[1] Sometimes the type-setters overlooked the corrections made by the author or the publisher (for instance, in instalments 36-43), and Lahure could do nothing else but to ask Marx to insert errata at the end of the book.[2]

There were instances when through the fault of the print-shop or because of the distance that separated them, or due to the inefficiency of some of the large number of people participating in the publication of *Capital*, Marx received proofs before the translator had checked them. This was an additional burden on Marx who had to make all the corrections himself.[3]

Roy repeatedly complained to Marx about the work of the type-setters. Mailing Marx the corrected proofs of the third instalment, he wrote:

---

[1] M. Lachâtre to K. Marx, November 11, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3092.

[2] L. Lahure to K. Marx, May 26, 1875, CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 5967.

[3] J. Roy to K. Marx, May 8, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2876.

"The type-setters make the strangest mistakes; they miss words, replace them with others and sometimes change the text as they think fit." He noted that there were fewer misprints in the 5-6th instalments and expressed the hope that in the future their number will further decrease.[1]

After the publication of the last instalments, all series were stitched together and sold as a single book. A Russian Narodnik journalist Nikolai Kudrin (Rusanov), who lived in Paris at the time, wrote: "A French edition of Volume I of *Capital* looked over and supplemented by Marx himself has appeared in print (at first it was published in instalments and then, at the close of April 1875, it appeared in book form)." The date mentioned is obviously incorrect, for the last instalments came off the press at a later date, and, consequently, all the instalments could not have been stitched into a book in April. This could have taken place only in 1876. But the important thing was his direct indication that the edition was issued "in book form".

Promptly after the appearance of the complete edition of *Capital*, Gabriel Deville (1854-1940), a French socialist, wrote to Marx, proposing to publish a popular version of the work. In his reply Marx described the situation at Lachâtre's publishing house which was under the control of a reactionary official. In view of this, the publication of an abridged version of *Capital* was postponed. It came out only in 1883, after Marx's death. Looking over Deville's manuscript, Engels noticed certain shortcomings in it. In his opinion, from the theoretical point of view, Deville's work

---

[1] J. Roy to K. Marx, May 8, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2876.

was better than any of the previously issued abridged versions of *Capital*, although its style was very careless. Engels held that only the theory of surplus-value and the conclusions drawn from it should have been set forth in a popular version, whereas Deville made an abridged version of the whole book. In a letter to Laura Lafargue, dated October 3, 1883, Engels analysed Deville's manuscript and expressed the wish that the latter should revise the first two chapters, reinforcing some propositions with proofs from the original; otherwise the text would be too abstract and incomprehensible to the average worker. In the theoretical part of Deville's version Engels discovered substantial inaccuracies, even in the definition of commodities, and also indicated several excerpts which could have been omitted.

Unfortunately, Deville was unable to fulfil Engels's instructions because he was hurried with the publication of the book. Despite these considerable shortcomings it was published several times. Discussing similar editions in a letter to Sorge on November 9, 1882, Engels wrote: "Most people are too lazy to read such big books as *Capital*, that is why a thin booklet has a much quicker effect." Marx also noted that characteristic of French readers was their impatience to arrive at the final conclusion and their desire to discover the connection between the general principles set forth in a book and the urgent problems of the day. The abridged version prepared by Deville paved the way for disseminating the complete edition of *Capital* in France on a wider scale.

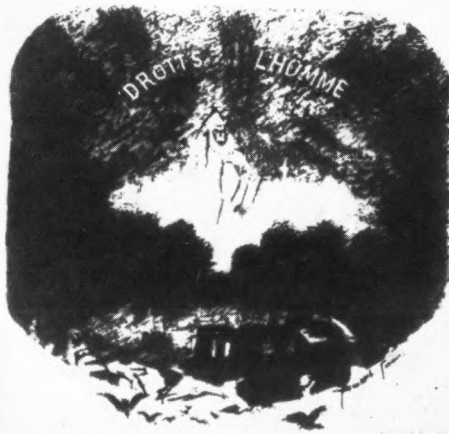
But the history of the publication of *Capital* in French does not end here. In all large scientific libraries in the USSR and abroad there is an

LE CAPITAL

PAR

KARL MARX

TRADUCTION DE M. J. ROY, ENTIÈREMENT REVISÉE PAR L'AUTEUR



LIBRAIRIE DU PROGRÈS

PARIS — 11, rue Bertin-Poirée, 11 — PARIS

Title page of the first French edition of "Capital" reprinted by Oriol in 1885

SEPTIEME SECTION

ACCUMULATION DU CAPITAL

INTRODUCTION

La conversion d'une somme d'argent en moyens de production et force de travail, ce premier mouvement de la valeur destinée à fonctionner comme capital, a lieu sur le marché, dans la sphère de la circulation.

Le procès de production, la deuxième phase du mouvement, prend fin dès que les moyens de production sont transformes en marchandises dont la valeur excede celle de leurs elements constitutifs ou renferme une plus-value en sus du capital avancé.

Les marchandises doivent alors être jetées dans la sphère de la circulation. Il faut les vendre, realiser leur valeur en argent, puis transformer de nouveau cet argent en capital et ainsi de suite.

C'est ce mouvement circulaire à travers ces phases successives qui constitue la circulation du capital.

La première condition de l'accumulation, c'est que le capitaliste ait déjà reussi à vendre ses marchandises et à retransformer en capital la plus grande partie de l'argent ainsi obtenu. Dans l'expose suivant il est sous-entendu que le capital accomplit d'une manière normale le cours de sa circulation, dont nous remettons l'analyse ultérieure au deuxième livre.

Le capitaliste qui produit la plus-value, c'est-à-dire qui extrait directement de l'ouvrier du travail non payé et fixé dans des marchandises, se l'approprie le premier, mais il n'en reste pas le dernier possesseur. Il doit au contraire la partager en sous-ordre avec d'autres capitalistes qui accomplissent d'autres fonctions dans l'ensemble de la production sociale, avec le propriétaire foncier, etc.

La plus-value se scinde donc en diverses parties, en fragments qui échoient à diverses catégories de personnes et revêtent des formes diverses, apparemment indépendantes les unes des autres, telles que profit industriel, intérêt, gain commercial, rente foncière, etc. Mais ce fractionnement ne change ni la nature de la plus-value, ni les conditions dans lesquelles elle devient la source de l'accumulation. Quelle qu'en soit la portion que le capitaliste entrepreneur retienne pour lui ou transmette à d'autres, c'est toujours lui qui en premier lieu se l'approprie tout entière et qui seul la convertit en capital. Sans nous arrêter à la répartition et aux transformations de la plus-value, dont nous ferons l'étude dans le troisième livre, nous pouvons donc traiter le capitaliste industriel, tel que fabricant, fermier, etc., comme le seul possesseur de la plus-value ou si l'on veut comme le représentant de tous les partageants entre lesquels le butin se distribue.

Le mouvement intermédiaire de la circulation et le fractionnement de la plus-value en diverses parties, revêtant des formes diverses, compliquent et obscurcissent le procès fondamental de l'accumulation. Pour en simplifier l'analyse, il faut donc préalablement laisser de côté tous ces phénomènes qui dissimulent le jeu intime de son mécanisme et étudier l'accumulation au point de vue de la production.

Photo of p. 246 of the first French edition of "Capital", Vol. I

SEPTIÈME SECTION

ACCUMULATION DU CAPITAL

INTRODUCTION

La conversion d'une somme d'argent en moyens de production et force de travail, ce premier mouvement de la valeur destinée à fonctionner comme capital, a lieu sur le marché, dans la sphère de la circulation.

Le procès de production, la deuxième phase du mouvement, prend fin dès que les moyens de production sont transformés en marchandises dont la valeur excède celle de leurs éléments constitutifs ou renferme une plus-value en sus du capital avancé.

Les marchandises doivent alors être jetées dans la sphère de la circulation. Il faut les vendre, réaliser leur valeur en argent, puis transformer de nouveau cet argent en capital et ainsi de suite.

C'est ce mouvement circulaire à travers ces phases successives qui constitue la circulation du capital.

La première condition de l'accumulation, c'est que le capitaliste ait déjà réussi à vendre ses marchandises et à retransformer en capital la plus grande partie de l'argent ainsi obtenu. Dans l'exposé suivant il est sous-entendu que le capital accomplit d'une manière normale le cours de sa circulation, dont nous remettons l'analyse ultérieure au deuxième livre.

Le capitaliste qui produit la plus-value, c'est-à-dire qui extrait directement de l'ouvrier du travail non payé est fixé dans des marchandises, en l'approprie le premier, mais il n'en reste pas le dernier possesseur. Il doit au contraire la partager en sous-ordre avec d'autres capitalistes qui accomplissent d'autres fonctions dans l'ensemble de la production sociale, avec le propriétaire foncier, etc.

La plus-value se scinde donc à diverses parties, en fragments qui échoient en diverses catégories de personnes et revêtent des formes diverses, apparemment indépendantes les unes des autres, telles que profit industriel, intérêt, gain commercial, rente foncière, etc. Mais ce fractionnement ne change ni la nature de la plus-value, ni les conditions dans lesquelles elle devient les sources de l'accumulation. Quelle qu'en soit la portion que le capitaliste entrepreneur retienne pour lui ou transmette à d'autres, c'est toujours lui qui en premier lieu se l'approprie tout entière et qui seul la convertit en capital. Sans nous arrêter à la répartition et aux transformations de la plus-value, dont nous ferons l'étude dans le troisième livre, nous pouvons donc traiter le capitaliste industriel, tel que fabricant, fermier, etc., comme le seul possesseur de la plus-value, ou si l'on veut comme le représentant de tous les partageants entre lesquels le butin se distribue.

Le mouvement intermédiaire de la circulation et le fractionnement de la plus-value en diverses parties, revêtant des formes diverses, compliquent et obscurcissent le procès fondamental de l'accumulation. Pour en simplifier l'analyse, il faut donc préalablement laisser de côté tous ces phénomènes qui dissimulent le jeu intime de son mécanisme et étudier l'accumulation au point de vue de la production.

Photo of p. 246 of the reprinted first French edition of "Capital"

Its distinguishing features are: a) the title of the chapter is set in different type than in the original; b) the arrangement of typographical characters is likewise different: see column 1, para. 3; column 2, lines 16-22 from top; c) *préalablement* is spelled correctly.

ANTIQUARIATS-KATALOG NO. 53.

M. & H. SCHAPER

Antiquariat

Hannover, Friedrichstrasse 11.

Fernsprecher No. 1245.

Économie politique. Socialisme. Histoire des Révolutions.

938 — Le Capital. Trad. p. M. J. Roy., entièrement rev. par l'auteur. Avec portrait et lettre facsimil. gr. 8°. Paris 1872. Hblwd. 30

Erste franz. Ausg. Sehr selten. Prächtiges Exemplar mit sämtl. Orig.-Umschlägen (das Werk erschien in Lfgn.) und d. Streifbandadressen (mit englischen Postmarken) geschrieben von Karl Marx und Fried. Engels. Auf der ersten Lfg. ein weiteres Autogramm von Marx: „Kugelmann, de la part de l'auteur" Unicum.

Schaper's Catalogue

Words in small print read: "First French edition. Very rare. Excellent copy with serial covers (the edition was published in instalments) and the address on the wrapping (with English stamps) personally written by Marx. The first instalment bears Marx's dedication: 'To Kugelmann from the author.' A unique copy."

edition which resembles the first French edition.[1] But it has a different illustration on the title page; it does not contain Lachâtre's letter to Marx; the date of the Preface to the first German edition is not 1867 but 1875; there is no mention of Lachâtre's publishing house on the title page, instead there are the words *Librairie du progrès*; it was not printed at Lahure's but in other print-shops.[2]

---

[1] Several variants of typographical design of Volume I of the French edition of *Capital* were known in the USSR as far back as 1936. [A. D. Eichengolts, *Concerning the History of the First Edition of "Capital" (Volume I) in French (1872-1875)*, *"Knizhniye Novosti"* (News about Books), 1936, No. 8, pp. 1-4 (in Russian).] All of them were regarded as versions of the first edition.

A careful examination of tens of copies of the edition kept in scientific libraries in the USSR, Bulgaria and Rumania, and study of Marx's correspondence with Oriol, preserved in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU, have made it possible to prove the correctness of the hypothesis that the edition was reprinted in the 1880s, following the formation of the French Workers' Party.

Proof of the correctness of this assumption was also found in Engels's correspondence with Paul and Laura Lafargue first published in France in the period between 1956 and 1959. It contained information as to the exact year when the last instalments of the French edition were printed (1884) and when the whole book was reprinted (1885).

Lachâtre's edition has no other variants. The other edition was reprinted from the matrixes of the first edition in several print-shops. Some parts of the book were composed anew, consequently, the typographical design of Oriol's reprinted edition has several variants, making it possible to distinguish it from Lachâtre's edition.

[2] This is borne out in a letter to Engels in February 1885 where Paul Lafargue mentioned that Oriol had difficulty in printing Volume I of *Capital* because of the need to find another print-shop (F. Engels et P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. I, p. 269).

Neither the year of publication nor the number of the order is mentioned, and the quality of the paper and composition is worse than in the original.

A detailed analysis shows that the book is a reprint of Lachâtre's edition: the paragraphs coincide, but within them the text has a different arrangement which proves that it was reset.[1]

Who could have changed the date of the Preface without the author's permission and published the book in violation of the author's copyright? Since it does not have the number of the order printed on it, it is not registered in the Paris National Library as it should have been.[2]

Why had neither Marx nor Engels, nor their numerous friends and followers objected against the arbitrary change of the Preface's date?

To answer these questions it is necessary to turn back to the events which took place in Lachâtre's bookshop following the publication of the book.

In 1876, Marx received contradictory reports from Paris: some said that they had seen the

---

[1] The number of changes is slightly more than 50. But that is enough to see that it is a reprinted edition and not the remainder of the first edition, which was put on the market at a later date and with other covers. One example are the marked off paragraphs on pages 246 in both editions, clearly showing that the spacing of typographical characters in the reprinted edition is different from the original. Moreover, the misprints not included in errata are corrected in the reprinted edition as, for example, on page 246, column 2, lines 3-4 from the bottom, where "préablement" is corrected to "préalablement".

[2] The National Library in Paris was authorised to perform the official function of registering all French publications.

book in Lachâtre's shop-window,[1] while others informed him that the book was not yet on sale. The woman, whom Quêst had put in charge of the shop, was a devout bigot who did everything in her power to prevent the spread of Marx's book. She either said that the shop did not have *Capital* in stock or tried to talk buyers out of purchasing such an "immoral" publication and recommended books on other subjects instead.[2] Marx was kept informed of her intrigues by Karl Hirsch, a German Social-Democrat and the Paris correspondent of *Frankfurter Zeitung*.[3]

At the beginning of the 1880s, Lachâtre handed over his business to his employee Henri Oriol, whose name was last mentioned in books in 1886.

The 1880s were a period when Oriol's name was mentioned in the socialist press alongside the names of Paul Lafargue, Gabriel Deville and Jules Guesde, all of whom were functionaries of the French Workers' Party. Oriol took part in the preparations for the international workers' congress which was to be held in Paris at the time of the World Fair of 1878. But the Government banned the congress, and the workers showed an inclination to obey the ruling. Thereupon Guesde and his supporters took the matter into their own hands and decided to open the congress on September 5, 1878, at a private apartment leased in the name of a house painter. On that day the police arrested 38 persons, among them Guesde and

---

[1] See *From the History of the Formation and Development of Marxism*, p. 387.

[2] K. Hirsch to K. Marx, December 30, 1875, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3620.

[3] *Geschichte der Frankfurter Zeitung*, Frankfurt a. M., 1911, S. 155, 339.

Massard, the organisers of the congress. Oriol was fined and sentenced to a month in jail.

From 1883 to 1886 the name of publisher Oriol appeared on books and brochures issued by the French Workers' Party. Oriol published the Party's Programme drawn up by Guesde and Lafargue under the guidance of Marx (who wrote the theoretical part); congress reports; a brochure by Jean Dormoy, a prominent Party propagandist, written while serving a prison term for revolutionary activity; Lafargue's and Deville's lectures on political economy (based on *Capital*), an abridged edition of *Capital* prepared by Deville, brochures by Guesde, Lafargue and others.[1] In 1884 Oriol issued the first volume of verses by Eugène Pottier, a proletarian poet and author of "L'Internationale", whom Lenin called the great propagandist by means of song.[2]

At the beginning of 1884, Oriol's publishing house planned to issue a new edition of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*. The same year Laura Lafargue sent Oriol a book written by the bourgeois economist Leroy-Beaulieu, which was to be forwarded to Engels who needed it to help Paul Lafargue smash hostile criticism. In his correspondence with Laura and Paul Lafargue, Engels often mentioned Oriol as a publisher and bookseller closely associated with the Marxist party.

---

[1] J. Guesde et P. Lafargue, *Le programme du Parti ouvrier*, Paris, 1883; J. Dormoy, *Rapports et résolutions des Congrès ouvriers de 1876 à 1883*, Paris, 1883; E. Pottier, *Poésies d'économie sociale...* Paris, 1884; P. Lafargue, *Le matérialisme économique de Karl Marx*, Paris, 1884; G. Deville, *L'évolution du capital*, Paris, 1884, 1885; G. Deville, *Résumé du "Capital" de Karl Marx*, 1883; P. Lafargue, *Le droit à la paresse*, Paris, 1883; J. Guesde, *Le collectivisme au collège de France*, Paris, 1886.

[2] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 224.

Oriol took great pains to publish and popularise *Capital* and Deville's abridged version of it. His letters to Marx, written as far back as 1876, show his exceptional interest in *Capital* from the point of view of propagandising its ideas. On April 13, 1876, he wrote to Marx: "As an employee of the Maurice Lachâtre & Co. Publishers, I know better than anyone else what has to be done to spread your excellent work. I have asked the manager of the publishing house to give a copy of the book to the newspaper *Rappel*[1] for a review. The newspaper was willing to publish the review whose text I was to furnish. I have spoken to M. Maurice Lachâtre who told me that you could do it better than anyone else.

"Be so kind as to send me a review which would be a sort of key to understanding the book and could serve as an introduction. Many people cannot get past the first series because they do not understand it.

"My request is purely personal. No one, not even the manager, knows about it. In writing to you I have been prompted by the desire to help promote republican propaganda.

"Hoping that you will honour me with a reply, I beg you to accept my best wishes.

Oriol."[2]

Marx could not have left this request unanswered, but his reply has not been found so far. But that was not the end of his correspondence with Oriol. Marx asked Oriol to obtain for him the missing copies of the French edition of *Cap-*

---

[1] A newspaper of the Left-Republican trend.

[2] H. Oriol to K. Marx, April 13, 1876, CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 3647.

ital and then to exchange all the instalments for those already stitched.[1]

Failing to obtain Quêst's permission to make the exchange, Oriol bought the missing copies, had them stitched and sent Marx more than 40 copies of the book. At Oriol's request, Marx sent him a copy of his agreement with Lachâtre.

Upon becoming the owner of the publishing house, Oriol continued to popularise *Capital* to the best of his ability.

The growing demand for the complete edition of *Capital*, which came in the wake of the publication of Deville's abridged version of the book,[2] made Oriol think about finishing the printing of the last instalments and thus complete the existing series. This had to be done because Quêst in 1875 arbitrarily reduced the number of copies of the last instalments of *Capital*, and Oriol, who succeeded Lachâtre, had a certain number of copies of the first series which could not be stitched and put up for sale. Oriol printed the required copies in other print-shops from the matrixes which Lahure had made in his time.

Evidently it was while working on the last instalments that Oriol began to think of issuing a new edition of the book. He realised that this was necessary for the promotion of revolutionary propaganda during the upsurge of the working-class movement in the 1880s.

In the new edition of *Capital* Oriol changed the date of Marx's Preface to the German edition and deleted Lachâtre's letter to Marx. In his

---

[1] See *From the History of the Formation and Development of Marxism*, p. 387.

[2] See Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1959, p. 177.

time Lachâtre wanted Marx to replace the date (1867) with one that would be closer to the actual date of the publication of the book, and quite possibly Oriol was guided by the same consideration. Engels probably noticed the difference between the editions, but neither mentioned it in his correspondence nor wrote about it in the press, evidently bearing in mind that the publication of the book in violation of copyright was a criminal offence. The publisher could alter the date of the preface or delete any part of the work only with the consent of the author. If this fact had been made public the book would have been confiscated, and the publisher, who had boldly faced the risk for the sake of giving greater publicity to the book, would have been prosecuted by the law.

Oriol could have viewed Lachâtre's letter to Marx as having lost its significance, being connected only with the publication of the book in instalments. As to Lachâtre, he either agreed to have his letter deleted or did not object *post factum*, considering it to be in the order of things.

There is no information about the number of copies in which this edition of *Capital* was issued neither in the published correspondence nor in the archives. Inscribed on the back of the cover of one of the copies of this edition are the words: "15-me édition", meaning "fifteenth thousand",[1] while some copies have covers with the trade-mark of Oriol's publishing house. All copies have certain features indicating that they are reprints. Even in cases when the title page has the picture of the Pantheon on it, there is no number of the order on the last page. This could be due to the fact that Oriol, as the successor of Lachâtre's business, had

[1] Rare Books Department of the IML Library (763).

a few extra title pages left over from the original edition and used them in the reprinted copies. But he did not have the last pages of the text with the number of the order (No. 12403) on them. Thus, of all the copies, which the author of this book has seen, only the reprinted edition has the cover with Oriol's trade-mark, whatever the design of the title page.[1]

It follows, therefore, that besides the 10,000 copies of the French edition of Volume I, which were published in 1875, at least 5,000 reprinted copies[2] were issued in 1885 thanks to Oriol.

During Engels's lifetime there were several attempts to translate Volume II into French. Paul Lafargue, who lacked sufficient knowledge of German but who was very interested in Volume II, tried to find a suitable translator for it. Early in 1885, he became acquainted with Joseph Roy, the translator of Volume I, who was then unemployed. When Roy learned from Engels's letter to Lafargue that Danielson had been translating Volume II from the proofs of the German edition, he

[1] Examination of tens of copies gives ground to believe that Lachâtre's first edition had a cover with the same drawing as on the half-title (which was used as a cover for the series). Such covers are on the 6th copy (No. 32-3775 in the Lenin Library) where it is pasted on the binding, and on an excellently preserved copy kept in the All-Union State Library of Foreign Literature (No. 10184). The cover is made of thick light-grey paper; on the inside of the cover is a list of Lachâtre's publications.

Oriol used several cover designs, which, as a rule, were not printed by Lahure. One greenish-grey cover bears a banner, arms and the inscription: "Liberty, equality, fraternity"; another cover, printed on light-yellow paper, has only Oriol's initials.

[2] It is not clear whether Oriol's figure 15,000 indicates the number of reprinted copies or Lachâtre's edition of 10,000 copies plus 5,000 reprinted copies.

exclaimed: "Why shouldn't Engels send the proofs to me, too! I'll start translating the second volume as soon as I have the text in my hands. I would translate for my personal satisfaction, and if a publisher would eventually be found, so much the better." In his letter of February 27, 1885, Lafargue wrote to Engels about Roy's suggestion.[1] Three years later Lafargue again sent word to Engels that one of their mutual friends had undertaken to translate Volume II, and that Deville wanted to ask his permission to prepare an abridged version of it.[2]

At the beginning of 1894, Albert Delon, a journalist, approached Engels with an offer to translate Volume II of *Capital.* Delon became interested in socialist ideas and began to write for the progressive press under the influence of socialist literature, notably *Capital*, and his acquaintance with Jules Guesde, who was active in the international working-class movement. Through the journalist Georges Diamandy, Delon informed Engels that he was studying German, particularly the terminology used in political economy. On January 19, 1894, Engels made the following note on Diamandy's letter: "Let him read the second volume and then come."[3]

But all these plans were not put into effect. Engels's fears that it would be no easy matter to find a suitable French translator for Volumes II and III proved to be well-founded. On July 12, 1893, when work on the third volume in the origi-

---

[1] F. Engels et P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. 1, 1868-1886, p. 269.

[2] F. Engels et P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. II, Paris, 1956, p. 124.

[3] G. Diamandy to F. Engels, January 17, 1894, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 5656.

nal language was nearing completion, Engels wrote to Filippo Turati, an Italian socialist, that it was not easy to find a person who could translate the work into French, for it was a big job and one which required ability and perseverance to complete.

The first French translation of Volumes II and III of *Capital* was published in Paris in 1901.[1] During Engels's lifetime only excerpts were published from Volume III, as, for example, in 1895 by the *Jeunesse Socialiste* magazine.

In France *Capital* was read not only in French but also in the original.

The year Volume I was published in German, periodicals in many countries printed part of Marx's Preface to the work. In France it came out under the heading of "Socialism in Europe" in a translation made by Laura and Paul Lafargue and printed in *Le Courrier français*, whose editor was Auguste Vermorel, a Left Proudhonist.[2]

In Brussels the same part of the Preface was carried by *La Liberté*, organ of the International in Belgium.[3] The newspaper reprinted from *Der Volksstaat* an article on *Capital*— "a work by the famous economist and socialist Marx"—and expressed the hope that it would be soon translated into French.

For the purpose of popularising *Capital* in France it was also planned to publish excerpts from the work and articles about it in various press organs. Moses Hess, a petty-bourgeois publicist, undertook to write notes on the book for *Le Courrier français*. But he was too late in publish-

---

[1] *Le Mouvement socialiste*, 1901, N 51.
[2] *Le Courrier français*, 1867, N 106.
[3] *La Liberté*, 1867, N 15.

ing them, for the paper was forced to close down in 1868 under government pressure. An article by Hess was due to appear in *La Morale indépendante*, organ of the utopian-socialist Massol. Elie Reclus also intended to publish an article on *Capital* in his magazine *Coopération*.[1]

As a rule people associate the word "dissemination" with extensive publicity, large editions and numerous comments and discussions in the press. But could this be said about the various editions of *Capital*? Although its original and reprinted editions were fairly large for those times, *Capital*, because of its subject-matter, the author's method of research and, finally, its size, did not spread as swiftly in the first years following its publication as did, for example, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marxism's programme document.

Under the unwritten laws of the capitalist book market, a new work could be successfully spread only if it was exhibited in a shop-window, advertised and reviewed in the press, and registered in the National Library in Paris.

Capital, which was published in the period of terror and reaction, took a long time to reach the reader. It was removed from the shop-window of Lachâtre's publishing house, when Quêst was in charge of it, together with other "low-standard" editions, as the enemies of Marxism called them. Difficulties were also created by editors of bourgeois newspapers who were reluctant to advertise a book written by the leader of the International.

The bourgeoisie made every effort to subject the

[1] The author was unable to ascertain whether these articles were printed, for some copies of these publications are missing in Soviet libraries.

French workers to its influence, direct them along the road of narrow trade-unionism and the co-operative movement, and to stamp out revolutionary and socialist traditions. Following the example of their counterparts in Germany, French bourgeois economists endeavoured to hush up the appearance of *Capital*, and when they saw that that could not be done, they published articles distorting its ideas. Such articles were written by Block, Laveleye and other bourgeois writers. Some economists did not deny that Marx had eruditely substantiated and mustered a "Mont Blanc of facts" and arguments, but they could neither accept nor disprove his conclusions. At times they would resort to their favourite method of disparaging a book, exaggerating the difficulties encountered in understanding *Capital*.

Among the enemies of Marxism there were also people who impatiently awaited the publication of the book. One of them was A. Frank, a reactionary academician who opposed socialism and communism. Convinced that crude violence and terror would never eradicate socialist theories, he advised to achieve this by persuasion and education. Proceeding from this point of view, he told a meeting of the Paris Academy of Sciences that he wanted to see an unabridged French translation of *Capital*.[1]

Advanced workers and progressive intellectuals encountered great difficulties in spreading *Capital* in France. Reaction was at its height in 1872, and it was impossible to insert an ordinary advertisement of the book in Paris newspapers, so this was done in the socialist and workers' press of the Latin countries—Belgium and Switzerland.

---

[1] *Le Journal officiel*, October 4, 1872.

The Belgian *La Liberté*, reporting the publication of the first series of *Capital*, wrote that "even the appearance of forty pages of this work should not be left without comment".[1] The Geneva *L'Egalité*, the leading organ of the International in Switzerland, also notified the public about the appearance of the first instalments of the French edition. It published a footnote which said: "We are happy to say that this monumental work on political economy, on capital and labour, has been translated into French (the 1st series has already been issued in Paris by Maurice Lachâtre's publishing house)."[2] In 1873, *La science populaire*, organ of the anarchists, without any commentaries published excerpts from the chapter on the working day (Section 1, Chapter X).[3]

News of the appearance of separate series reached other countries, too. For instance, Marx received a copy of the Italian newspaper *Capitale* announcing the publication of the instalments.[4] In the spring of 1874, the newspaper *Plebe*, whose editor was socialist Enrico Bignami, told its readers that *Capital* had been translated into French. In the Readers' Letters column the newspaper inserted the following request to Marx: "London. K. M. Please send us the continuation of *Capital*. Thus far we have received (the text) ending page 240."[5] This meant that already in the spring of 1874, the newspaper had the text of the sixth series, which was published in Paris at the end of 1873.

---

[1] *La Liberté*, 1872, N 49.
[2] *L'Egalité*, 1872, N 22-23.
[3] *La science populaire*, 1873, N 19.
[4] G. Luciani to K. Marx, September 27, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3023.
[5] *La Plebe*, April 19, 1874.

Emancipacion, organ of the Spanish socialists which appeared in Madrid, besides inserting announcements about the appearance of the first series, published the Preface to the book and several excerpts from it in Spanish translation.[1]

In Germany *Der Volksstaat* carried Dietzgen's translation of Marx's Afterword to the French edition of *Capital*. In an introductory article[2] Dietzgen gave a brief account of the book's history and emphasised that despite the obstacles raised by the French Government its publication was launched after the Paris Commune and continued during the stage of siege and the Versailles regime. In conclusion he expressed the hope that *Capital* would give the French socialists the same theoretical and practical orientation as it did the German socialists.

To facilitate the purchase of the book and speed up its distribution, particularly in the Latin countries, Marx mailed copies of the series, which he received under agreement with the publishers, to his friends and supporters.

Many of those people to whom Marx sent instalments of the French edition are known from his notebooks and from their reply letters. One of them was Kugelmann. After his death separate instalments of the French edition of *Capital* were found in his library in the same state as Marx had sent them. Each series had a cover, and one was even enclosed in a postal wrapping complete with stamps and the address written in Marx's hand. The first instalment bears the inscription without a date: "To Kugelmann from the author."[3]

---

[1] *Emancipacion*, 1872, N 71, 77.

[2] *Der Volksstaat*, 1876, N 1, 4.

[3] These details were furnished by the antiquarian who was authorised to sell Kugelmann's books after his death.

This method of distributing the book proved to be exceptionally effective. It is evident from replies of the recipients that the copies did not lie idle but were passed from hand to hand and used as material for oral and printed propaganda not only in France and Italy, but also in Belgium, the Netherlands and other countries.

Marx knew about this from the letters of Charles Rochat, a functionary of the First International, and of the Belgian socialist César de Paepe. In 1868 De Paepe informed Marx that he had requested German emigrants in Brussels to translate some passages from *Capital* for the purpose of organising a conference for members of the International to help them in the study of this work.[1] De Paepe was interested in the French translation which he found easier to understand. In his letters to Marx concerning the International he frequently inquired as to when the book would be published. At the end of 1869, De Paepe asked Marx the same question upon reading Paul Lafargue's advertisement in the Paris *Travail* to the effect that the book would appear early the following year.[2]

After the book had been published, De Paepe promised Marx to use it extensively in lectures on

The catalogue compiled by the antiquarian noted that Kugelmann's library had not merely rare, but unique copies. It is unknown who purchased this copy of *Capital* and who has it today. (M. H. Schaper, *Antiquariats Katalog*, N 53, Hannover, 1902, S. 34, N 938.)

[1] C. De Paepe to K. Marx, September 14, 1868, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1887.

[2] C. De Paepe to K. Marx, November 13, 1869, CPA IML, fund 21, No. 162/14. *Travail*, a weekly organ of workers' associations in Paris, was published from June to December 1869. The author did not find the notice in the incomplete files of the publication available in the IML.

political economy which he planned to deliver at Belgian workers' societies. "I shall not only draw on the book," he wrote to Marx, "I shall 'plunder' it mercilessly, but, of course, I shall indicate the source."[1] A. Mongin, secretary of the committee for aid to political emigrants in London, also promised to propagandise *Capital*.[2]

La Cecilia and Bignami assured Marx that they would do their best to translate *Capital* into Italian,[3] and José Nobre-Franca promised Marx to have it translated into Portuguese.[4] César Pascal, writing from Brighton, said that he intended to publish a review of *Capital*, which "amazes people like monumental Roman architecture", in his *Revue anglo-française*.[5]

Marx also received letters from persons with whom he was not acquainted. For instance, Raphael Ledos de Beaufort, an instructor in French and art at a college near Preston, asked Marx to send him an International membership card and the first series of the French edition of *Capital*.[6]

L. Gourlet, a representative of Blot, a big Paris publishing house, inquired about the conditions under which *Capital* was distributed in Britain.

---

[1] See *From the History of the Formation and Development of Marxism*, p. 389.

[2] A. Mongin to K. Marx, October 3, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3030.

[3] La Cecilia to K. Marx, August 23, 1872; E. Bignami to K. Marx, October 10, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, Nos. 2999, 3046.

[4] J. Nobre-Franca to K. Marx, August 17, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2988.

[5] C. Pascal to K. Marx, January 2, 1874, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3364.

[6] R. Beaufort to K. Marx, February 24, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2779.

In a conversation with Marx he asked him to find out all the relevant details from Lachâtre and then confirmed his request in a letter.[1] Gourlet explained that the publishing house had long-standing commercial ties with Lachâtre for whom it had published a number of books.[2]

The demand for *Capital* increased as the publication of the edition neared completion. "The book is in demand, but only in complete form," Lachâtre wrote to Marx in the autumn of 1875.[3] "There is an increased demand for *Capital*; it is gaining popularity," Karl Hirsch informed Marx at the beginning of 1876.

Karl Hirsch, the Paris correspondent of *Frankfurter Zeitung*, was an untiring propagandist of Marx's and Engels's works in France. He corresponded with Marx and informed him regularly about developments in France. Hirsch was the man through whom negotiations were conducted with Oriol concerning the publication of a review on *Capital* in the French press. Oriol called Hirsch the best buyer of *Capital* in Lachâtre's bookshop.

Hirsch played an exceptional role in disseminating *Capital*. Due to his efforts the organ of the radical bourgeois *Droits de l'homme* carried an advertisement about the appearance of the book.[4] The day it was printed he went to the publishing house where the employees, who were discussing the advertisement, tried to persuade him that they

---

[1] L. Gourlet to K. Marx, August 9, 1872, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2979.

[2] M. Lachâtre, *Biographie de Casimir Henrici*, Paris, Blot, 1869.

[3] M. Lachâtre to K. Marx, September 26, 1875, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3578.

[4] K. Hirsch to K. Marx (after February 10, 1876), CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 3632.

had nothing to do with it. They feared that Quest might suspect them of favouring revolutionary ideas. This fact came to light only 90 years later.

Hirsch also strove to have advertisements and reviews of the book printed by the Paris newspapers *Rappel* and *République*, the Brussels *Bulletin du mouvement social* and *Frankfurter Zeitung*.[1]

While in the 1870s the dissemination of Marx's economic theory was handicapped by the state of the French working-class and socialist movement, which was having a hard time getting back on its feet after the defeat of the Commune, the situation became more favourable in the early 1880s. The number of propagandists of Marxism increased due to the heightened activity of the students, young workers and activists of the Workers' Party. It was an era, Lenin wrote, "in which the French proletariat, under Marxist leadership, waged a sustained class struggle against the entire bourgeois system and prepared for the final battle against the bourgeoisie to win socialism".[2]

The new stage in the spread of *Capital* in France is associated with the names of Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue who stood at the head of the French Workers' Party. Guesde became a Marxist after overcoming the influence of anarchism. In the 1870s the revolutionary mood among the French youth, Guesde among them, began to grow under the influence of the French edition of *Capital*. In 1877 Guesde founded the newspaper *L'Egalité*, around which he rallied all the foremost people in the socialist movement. The paper widely publicised the ideas of scientific socialism, car-

[1] There is no way of checking whether this was done, because copies of these newspapers are not available in the USSR. Hirsch mentioned them in his letters to Marx.

[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 304.

ried articles by Engels and in 1877 and 1878 published a series of excerpts from *Capital*.[1]

One of the most talented propagandists of Marxist ideas and an authority on socialist theory was Paul Lafargue.[2]

He became a proletarian revolutionary and propagandist of Marxism under the direct guidance of Marx himself and was closely associated with Marx at the time when *Capital* was being written. Lafargue describes this period of his life in the following words: "In the course of many years I accompanied him on his evening walks in Hampstead Heath; during these walks in the meadows I received my economic education from him. Perhaps without noticing it, he recounted to me the content of the whole of the first volume of *Capital*, doing so step by step as he wrote it.

"Each time upon returning home I wrote down as best I could all that I had heard from him; at first I found it very difficult to follow the profound and intricate train of Marx's thoughts. Regretfully, I have lost these precious notes. After the Paris Commune the police plundered all my papers in Paris and Bordeaux."[3]

Lafargue closely studied *Capital* and often quoted it in his writings. He defended Marx's economic theory against repeated attacks by bourgeois economists Leroy-Beaulieu and Block. Lafargue's sharp polemic with them was supported by Engels to whom he sent his articles for approval and whose advice he especially heeded.

Lafargue encountered great difficulties in his efforts to disseminate Marx's economic theory.

[1] *L'Egalité*, 1877, N 5, 1878, N 8, 10, 21.

[2] See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 304.

[3] *Die Neue Zeit*, 1890-1891, Bd. 1, N 1, S. 17, Lafargue Paul, "Karl Marx".

Suffice it to mention the obstacles that were put in Lafargue's way when he intended to publish his manuscript containing excerpts from nine chapters of Volume I of *Capital* and a biographical note about Marx.[1]

Early in 1891, Lafargue submitted the manuscript to a Paris publishing house. It was agreed that the work would be prefaced with a critical article. The publishers, who had extensive ties with economists, approached two prominent French scientists on the matter. At first they willingly agreed, but later refused. In this connection Lafargue wrote to Engels in May 1891: "French economists realise that they are no match for Marx, and this makes it necessary to search for critics in Germany."[2] But the same thing happened in Germany, too. Lafargue's work was published only in 1893 without Marx's biography and with a preface by an Italian bourgeois economist Vilfredo Pareto who tried to "disprove" Marx from bourgeois positions. Pareto's attack on Marx caused a stir in Italy and evoked a protest in the Italian socialist press. Lafargue also did not remain silent, and in October 1894 gave a fitting rebuff to Pareto's attack.

Lafargue helped disseminate Marxism in France not only through the press. Together with Deville he lectured to workers' audiences. Lafargue told them of Marx's economic materialism, while Deville spoke on the evolution of capital.[3] "Your

---

[1] K. Marx, *Le Capital. Extraits faits par P. Lafargue*, Paris, 1893.

[2] F. Engels et P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. III, Paris, 1959, p. 53.

[3] Cours d'économie sociale: P. Lafargue, *Le matérialisme économique de Karl Marx*; G. Deville, *L'évolution du capital*, Paris, 1884.

lectures and those of Deville," Engels wrote to Lafargue on May 10, 1884, "are excellent, but you should, at least for a printed work, further develop the conclusions of the second lecture on Darwinism." Engels read all of Deville's lectures and commented on them.

Lectures on the first volume of *Capital* were read for forward-thinking provincial workers in the town of Beauvais by Edouard Fortin, the French translator of Engels's works. Before delivering them he would consult Engels on chapters which he found difficult to understand.[1]

Copies of the French translation of *Capital* were sold in other countries, too. They could be bought in Italy from the socialist publishing house "Critica sociale", which advertised *Capital*, listing all its merits, on the covers of other books.[2]

Thanks to international ties, an authorised French translation of *Capital* was also spread in Russia. The first series of five instalments published in France on September 17, 1872, passed censorship in May the following year. The next 10 instalments passed censorship in June 1873. The swift penetration of the book into Russia was an indication not only of the extensive international ties of the progressive circles in Russia, but also of their interest in Marxist political economy.

It would be interesting to compare the dates when the British Museum received the instalments from Marx, who mailed them as soon as they would come off the press, with the dates of their appearance in Russia. There is a letter from Jones

[1] E. Fortin to F. Engels, December 25, 1885, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 4616.

[2] K. Marx, *Il Capitale*, Riassunto da G. Deville, Cremona, 1893, p. 325.

Winter, curator of the museum, dated November 17, 1873, thanking Marx for sending instalments Nos. 21-30. Despite the obstacles raised by tsarist authorities, readers in Russia received the same instalments only three days later: they passed censorship on November 20.

The censor's office did not receive the instalments regularly. For instance, series 5-6 were passed before the fourth series, with the result that its appearance was delayed for half a year.[1]

Russian readers obtained the first French edition of *Capital* either through members of socialist circles or directly from bookshops, or in other ways. A complete copy of Lachâtre's edition of *Capital* is preserved in the library of Zhdanov University in Irkutsk. There is a document in the State Archives of Irkutsk Region testifying that among the books confiscated by gendarmes in 1901 there was a copy of the French edition of *Capital*. Information is available concerning the distribution of the French edition of *Capital* in the Ukraine in the 1890s. Scientific libraries in Moscow and Leningrad have 38 copies of the book, 19 of which were published by Lachâtre and 19 reprinted by Oriol. The copies available in the Lenin Library in Moscow bear the stamps of the libraries where they had been deposited in the past: the library of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Turgenev Russian Library in Paris. Several copies of the book available in the All-Union State Library of Foreign Literature in Moscow are of considerable interest. One of them belonged to the veteran member of the Communist Party Yekaterina Okulova (1871-1953). The book bears

---

[1] The Central State Historical Archives of the USSR, fund 779, file 3, Nos. 202, 204, 205.

her signature and the date, February 5, 1894. It is known that she was in Paris at the time and bought the book there.

There is a copy of the French edition of *Capital* which once belonged to Pyotr Krasikov, a delegate to the Second and Third Party Congresses, who served a term in prison for being associated with the Emancipation of Labour group and for smuggling illegal literature into Russia. He made the following inscription on his copy: "The book which I had with me in the St. Peter and Paul Fortress in 1893."

The French translation of *Capital* was on sale in Moscow, in the shop of the well-known publisher Mavriki Wolf. One copy bears his trademark, while the title page of another bears the owner's initials and the date, December 12, 1887.

The publication of the French edition of Volume I of *Capital* played an extremely important role in the history of Marxism. Marx himself thoroughly revised the translator's manuscript. In the summer of 1872 he wrote a letter to Sorge, saying that the phrase "completely revised by the author", printed on the title page of the book, was not written for nothing.[1] According to Marx, his editing of the last three instalments was particularly heavy. This was a "painful experiment" which took much of Marx's strength, health and time, and he never undertook such job again, believing that it would be much easier to translate the whole thing himself.

Roy's translation was much too literal, and to make it more comprehensible for the reader Marx simplified some parts of it. In his opinion, some

---

[1] *Correspondance...* publiée par F. A. Sorge, t. 1, p. 88,

passages which he wrote in French read better than in the original, and this made him think of revising the whole book. "Having once undertaken this work of revision," he wrote, "I was led to apply it also to the basic original text. . . ."[1] He made notes in the French and German copies of the book for the purpose of making corrections and additions in future editions.

The authorised French edition of *Capital* has not lost its significance to the present day and is of great help in translating the book, particularly into Latin languages. Marx himself recommended it to translators, for with the author's original text and the authorised French translation at their disposal they would find it easier to grasp all the shades of terminology; by referring to the French text when encountering unclear passages in the original, they would be able to see what the author was prepared to sacrifice for the sake of clarity.

To some translators Marx gave a list of the passages from the French edition which could be used as a basis. He advised the editor of the Polish translation Ludwik Krzywicki, the Italian Uriele Cavagnari and others to use the French edition as the basic text for their translations. In a letter dated November 15, 1878, he recommended Danielson to use the structure of the French edition for the second Russian edition and, when working on the Russian translation, to compare the German and the French texts, because the latter had many important alterations and additions in it. To the English translator Marx advised to translate some difficult passages correctly from the simplified French text than incorrectly from the German.

---

[1] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, p. 22.

The French edition of Volume I of *Capital* differs from the first three German editions both in structure and text. It has 8 parts and 33 chapters (in the fourth German edition there are 7 parts and 25 chapters). Chapter 24 ("The So-called Primitive Accumulation") of the German edition corresponds to Part VIII ("Primitive Accumulation") of the French edition. Some sections of this chapter and also of Chapter IV "The Transformation of Money into Capital" are separate chapters in the French edition, and the title of Part V is changed into "Additional Studies of the Problem of Surplus-Value". Textual distinctions vary in size and type: in some cases Marx removed semantic errors in the German text and rendered more precise and even rewrote and supplemented certain passages in the French text.

A selective comparative analysis of the texts of the fourth German and the French editions of Volume I of *Capital* shows that in many cases the French text is broader than the German original.[1] Marx wrote to Engels that in the French text certain passages were presented in greater detail and not in passing as in the original German text; the French edition had an introduction to the third chapter in Part VII which the original text did not have; Jean-Charles Sismondi's words were supplemented by an analogous quotation from a work by the French economist Antoine-Elysée Cherbuliez. Some theoretical questions are set forth more concisely in the French edition than in the original German text, as for example, in the concluding part of the section dealing with the production of relative surplus-value. Frequently, as a result of Marx's revision of the text, one and

[1] See Supplement, pp. 246-47.

the same idea is rendered differently in the French and German texts.

So as not to overload the French text with examples from German history, Marx omits the name of Felix Lichnowski, a Prussian officer and reactionary deputy of the Frankfurt National Assembly.

Marx's desire to make the text more comprehensible and illustrate it with a large number of examples was naturally reflected in the quantity and length of the footnotes. Some parts of the French text have more footnotes than there are in the original.

Introducing alterations and additions into the French edition to render it more accurate and readable, Marx in some cases further elaborated separate propositions which he considered expedient to introduce into future German editions of Volume I.

The history of the publication, popularisation and distribution of the first French editions of *Capital* is inseparably bound up with the history of the working-class movement in France. Marx invariably displayed a great interest in French history. France had always been an arena of class struggle which manifested itself "in an acute form unknown elsewhere".[1] The French working class was not only an independent national force but also an advanced detachment of the world proletarian movement. But in the 1870s the working-class movement in France did not have a single scientific theory that could unite it and was still under the influence of sectarian and reformist tendencies. The spread of Marxism in France

---

[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 246.

was blocked by Proudhon's teaching which was rather popular because it vividly expressed the social demands of the petty artisans and peasants.

It was the objective task of the French edition of *Capital* to paralyse Proudhonism's influence on the workers in the Latin countries. As Wilhelm Liebknecht aptly put it, this edition was called upon to eliminate the confusion which Proudhonism had sown in the minds of the French and Belgians.[1]

The principal aim of translating *Capital* into French—to free the masses from the influence of the Proudhonists—was achieved. Noting the influence of Marx's works and, above all, of *Capital* on the workers, Engels wrote in 1887: "Among Latin workers the forgotten works of Proudhon have been replaced by *Capital*, the *Communist Manifesto* and a number of other works of the Marxist school, and the main demand of Marx —the seizure of all the means of production in the name of society by a proletariat risen to sole political power—is now the demand of the whole revolutionary working class in the Latin countries also."[2]

In 1880s, following the return of the amnestied Communards, a trade-union movement developed in France. In this period, too, the French Workers' Party (founded in 1879), guided by the theoretical programme drawn up by Marx, developed its activity.

Describing the significance of the French edition of *Capital*, Paul Lafargue wrote: "At first the Government intended to prohibit its publication,

[1] See *International Review of Social History*, Vol. IV, 1959, pp. 388-389.

[2] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 548.

but, thinking the matter over, left the publisher in peace. It told itself: this is German metaphysics, the French won't understand it at all, and the publisher will lose his money. But the book silently forced its way, and one fine morning it was surprising to hear French socialists swearing by Marx's name and calling themselves Marxists, and to see how the working masses were carried away by these incomprehensible theories."[1]

The French edition of Volume I of *Capital*, which was published under Marx's direct guidance, opened for scientific communism the road to the hearts and minds of France's progressive-minded proletariat, created a firm basis for the fusion of this advanced scientific theory with the mass revolutionary movement and helped strengthen the ideological and political positions of the Marxist party in France.

The French edition of *Capital* had an impact on other countries besides France. This idea was clearly expressed by Joseph Dietzgen, a German philosopher, who in a letter to Marx said that with the appearance of the French edition of *Capital* Marx's theory had emerged on the international arena.

---

[1] Paul Lafargue, *Réponse à une critique de Karl Marx* en *L'Ere Nouvelle*, 1894, N 10, p. 115.

CHAPTER IV

COLLECTIVE WORK OF THE FIRST POLISH SOCIALISTS

The first Polish translation of *Capital* in the 1880s owes its appearance to the Russian edition of the work.

A group of enthusiasts closely associated with progressive circles of Polish and Russian young people and with the illegal working-class movement undertook to translate *Capital* into Polish. They came to know *Capital* by reading the Russian translation made in 1872. "Extremely indicative is the fact," wrote Żanna Korman, a Polish historian, "that it was the Russian translation of *Capital* that had a beneficial influence on the Polish translation. This fact gives fresh proof of the ties which were established at the inception of the Polish and Russian working-class movement."[1]

Progressives in Poland became familiar with the revolutionary ideas of Marx and Engels as far back as the 1840s. In those years Marx established

[1] *Sesja naukowa poświęcona trzeciemu polskiemu wydaniu I tomu "Kapitału" K. Marksa*, 1951 (Institut kształcenia kadr naukowych przy KC PZPR. Katedra ekonomii politycsznej), Warszawa, 1952, str. 315.

direct contacts with democratic circles in Poland, and Polish revolutionaries worked hand in hand with Marx and his supporters in the Brussels Democratic Association and in the Communist League—the nucleus of the proletariat's revolutionary party. Referring to the Second Congress of the Communist League, at which the ideas of the *Manifesto* were proclaimed, Marx and Engels wrote: "Poland had her representatives at this Congress, and at a public meeting in Brussels the famous Lelewel and his followers announced their adherence to the Congress resolutions." The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was not unknown to progressive Polish workers-emigrants who took part in the work of the London German Workers' Educational Association. Polish democrats participated in the revolutionary movement of 1848, and it was not surprising that shortly afterwards Marx's article on the June 1848 Revolution in France was translated into Polish.[1]

A still more significant landmark in the dissemination of Marxist ideas in Poland is connected with the activity of the First International among whose members were Polish democrats. Representatives of the Polish revolutionary emigrants were co-opted into the General Council. An indicator of the influence of the ideas of the International on the Poles was the founding of the Polish section of the International Workingmen's Association in London in 1865.

Polish revolutionary democrats inscribed a glorious page in the history of the Paris Commune, the first proletarian revolution. Jaroslaw Dąbrow-

---

[1] *Marks i Engels w Polsce. Materiały do bibliografji, 1842-1952*, Warszawa, 1953, str. 6.

ski and Valerian Wróblewski, who joined the ranks of the fighting proletariat of Paris, became prominent military commanders of the Commune, selflessly devoted to the cause of the revolution. By participating in the International and the Paris Commune, Polish revolutionary democrats paved the way for the penetration of progressive ideas into Poland, which stimulated the growth of the country's revolutionary forces and strengthened their ranks.

The propaganda and dissemination of Marxism intensified in Poland, which was part of the Russian Empire, beginning with the mid-1870s. Revolutionary intelligentsia and progressive-minded workers became more and more attracted to the ideas of scientific socialism; circles which maintained ties with the Ukrainian and Russian revolutionary movement sprang up throughout the country. It is known, for example, that the Northern Union of Russian Workers (founded in St. Petersburg in 1878) was connected with socialists in Warsaw. Ivan Franko, the prominent Ukrainian writer and public figure, began to propagandise socialism among Ukrainian and Polish workers in Galicia. In 1878-1879 he wrote a series of brochures in Polish and a textbook on political economy in which he popularised some of the propositions set forth in *Capital*. He translated into Ukrainian the chapter on primitive accumulation. The manuscript of this translation, which was never published, has been preserved to this day.

Socialist ideas penetrated into Poland with the help of Poles studying at higher educational establishments in St. Petersburg and other cities in Russia, who were influenced by progressive Russians and brought home illegal literature from Russia. The higher school was a barometer of pub-

lic sentiment. Progressive Russian students always opposed the tsarist autocracy. For the reactionary government of Russia the word "student" was synonymous with political unreliability. Progressive young Poles, who studied in Russia, formed close contacts with the revolutionary-minded Russian students and assimilated their traditions. Upon returning to Poland, they set up many circles whose members propagandised socialism among the workers.

An important role in the organisation of such circles was played by Ludwik Waryński. The result of his efforts to unite them into a single organisation was the founding in 1882 of a party called Proletariat. Although not consistently Marxist, it did much to awaken the class consciousness of the workers and helped them unite their ranks. This party was the first organisation in Poland that embraced Marxism. It had contacts with other revolutionary circles and groups in Russia, including the Narodnaya Volya group. At a congress in Wilno held the same year, student circles merged with the Proletariat Party.

Szymon Diksztajn (1858-1884), one of the prominent functionaries of the party, was the first propagandist of Marx's economic theory in Poland.

Born in Warsaw, Diksztajn was not yet 20 when he graduated from the Natural Science Faculty of Warsaw University. During his student days he was active in the revolutionary movement.

Having joined the socialist movement, Diksztajn became one of its most loyal propagandists. Owing to rigid censorship he published only one brochure in Poland, in which he revealed the essence of the government's fiscal policy. It was printed in 1878 under the title *Story of an Old*

Master. For the sake of conspiracy Diksztajn used the pseudonym of Tomasz Kujawczyk and had the words "translated from the Ukrainian" printed on the title page.[1] Fearing prosecution for revolutionary propaganda, Diksztajn emigrated to Switzerland the same year.

Diksztajn's contemporaries described him as a talented, honest and uncommonly modest person. The distinguished Russian mathematician Sophia Kovalevskaya was one of his friends.

In Switzerland Diksztajn studied theoretical problems of socialism and engaged in literary activity. He made the first Polish translation of Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. The translation was published in 1882, the year the German edition came out.

In Geneva, Diksztajn, in co-operation with a group of Polish progressives, published a socialist monthly *Równość*, which had certain anarchistic leanings.

A tireless propagandist of Marxism, Diksztajn was also a type-setter at the print-shop where the monthly was published. He used the *Równość* to propagandise Marx's economic theory. In 1880 the magazine published his article on the theory of surplus-value. The following year his brochure entitled *The Ways People Live*[2] was published in Geneva. Written in a straightforward manner, this little book quickly gained widespread popularity not only in Poland but also in other countries. In this work, which appeared under the pen-name of Jan Mlot, Diksztajn discussed the same theme on a broader scale. He wrote it in the form

[1] F. Perl, *Dzieje ruchu socjalistycznego w zaborze rosyjskim*, Warszawa, 1958, str. 67.

[2] Sz. Diksztajn, *Kto z czego żyje?* Warszawa, 1881, IV, 60 str.

of a dialogue in which he replied to questions and objections that could have been raised by a possible interlocutor on such issues as the social character of production and division of labour, the labour theory of value, the production of surplus-value and its appropriation by the owners of the instruments of labour, the division of society into classes according to their relation to the ownership of the means of production. The author not only referred to *Capital* to explain the theory of surplus-value, but also spoke of the historic mission of the working class. In the second part of the brochure he directly advocated social ownership of factories and of land. He posed the following question to the reader: "Why should not the workers dispossess all owners of their land and factories?" and said that "the workers can emancipate themselves only if they unite and join their efforts".

The text of the dialogue was simple and easily understood by all readers. The examples were given in Russian units of measure. He quoted *Capital* sparingly and admitted that he had selected the most elementary examples. In the materials taken from *Capital*, he said, "the figures will be so true that they will not give rise to any objections".

The brochure outlived its author whose life ended tragically when he was only 26. It was republished and translated into several languages and used for revolutionary propaganda in many countries for several decades.

The book was published in large editions. For example, its 1898 Russian edition had 1,000 copies, while one of its Polish editions issued in 1905 amounted to some 11,000 copies. From 1881 to 1920 it had not less than 20 editions. In 1952, it was republished by the Central Committee of the

Polish United Workers' Party on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Proletariat Party; the 100th anniversary of Diksztajn's birth was marked in February 1958 by a big article in the *Nowe Drogi*, organ of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. The Russian translation of *The Ways People Live* (with a preface by Plekhanov) was first published in Geneva in 1885 by the Emancipation of Labour group.

The publication of this brochure was a striking example of international class solidarity. Plekhanov mentions this in his preface. It was intended at first to change the name of the country in the Russian edition, but then it was decided not to replace "Poland" by "Russia" so as to show the Russian workers that they were not alone in their struggle, and that time had come for the workers of different nationalities to unite in the name of victory over the common enemy.

Lenin praised Diksztajn's brochure. Replying to complaints about the lack of new popular literature which could be used for propaganda purposes, Lenin listed several publications which he considered suitable, among them Diksztajn's *The Ways People Live*, and explained: "And the *only* popular literature that is *good*, the *only* popular literature that is *suitable* is that which can serve *for decades*. For popular literature is a series of *text-books for the people*, and text-books teach the ABC, which remains unchanged for *fifty years* at a time."[1]

In the 1880s, in Russia and, consequently, in Poland, which was one of her border areas, political reaction made it impossible to publish Marx-

[1] V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 313,

ist literature legally. But there were underground circles everywhere which by devious ways managed to obtain propaganda materials. Many of these publications were printed abroad and smuggled into Russia where they were distributed by these circles or by their individual members. Diverse printing methods were used: some of these publications were printed in the ordinary way or by copying machines, while others were copied by hand. Despite the obstacles set up by the censor's office and the police, many of these publications found their way to the workers. In addition to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and other works by Marx and Engels collected by the Russian police as material evidence, there were also many popular publications, including the popular brochures: *King Hunger* by Alexei Bach (later a famous Soviet scientist), Vassily Varzar's *Tricky Mechanics*, explaining the essence of the tsarist government's fiscal policy, and *The Ways People Live* by Diksztajn.

"When the working-class movement began to expand in Russia," wrote Nadezhda Krupskaya, "the main concern of the Social-Democrats was to spread such brochures as Diksztajn's *The Ways People Live*, *The Working Day*, etc. among the broad masses."

The brochure found its way to all corners of the country: it was read in Nikolai Fedoseyev's circle in Kazan, by soldiers in the Minsk barracks, at the Higher Women's Courses in St. Petersburg, by Odessa school teachers, in Saratov, in the Urals and in Siberia.

It had several editions in the Ukraine, one of which was translated by the talented Ukrainian authoress Lesya Ukrainka. In 1901 she brought to Lvov several popular Marxist works in Ukrain-

ian translation and handed them over to her friends for publication. She suggested to Ivan Franko that, for the sake of secrecy, any reference to these works in their letters should be made in such a way as to make it appear that they were her own literary compositions. She proposed that Engels's works should be called "Ballades", *Manifesto of the Communist Party*—"Radcliff", and *The Ways People Live*—"Over the Sea".

In 1892, Diksztajn's brochure was published for the first time in Armenian. In 1905 it was issued by the Caucasian Committee of the RSDLP. The following year, two translations of it were published—one in Tbilisi, the other in Rostov-on-the-Don. The first translation of the brochure into Georgian was made at the end of the 1890s by the outstanding Georgian revolutionary Lado Ketskhoveli, who called it *The Story of a Piece of Bread.*

A Russian edition of the brochure was published in New York in 1914. The number of copies of each edition of Diksztajn's brochure was indicated only during the Russian Revolution of 1905 and then after the October Revolution; the figures were quite impressive—20-25 thousand copies.

Diksztajn's brochure was also brought out in Japan, China, Bulgaria, Rumania and some other countries. According to incomplete data, from 1881 to 1958 it had 111 editions in 17 languages.

Warsaw students began thinking of translating *Capital* a year after the publication of *The Ways People Live.* Both the initiators of the translation and the translators themselves belonged to the progressive youth of the Kingdom of Poland and were closely associated with the Proletariat Party. Suffering under the unjust social system, they

were willing to fight for a better future for their country with all of their youthful energy.

At their gatherings the students debated theoretical problems of the working-class movement, drew up plans of social reconstruction and discussed ways for disseminating socialist views. They became acquainted with *Capital* when one of them, Ludwik Krzywicki, obtained a copy of the Russian edition from Kazimierz Sosńowski.[1]

The initiator of the translation and one of the translators was Stanisław Krusiński (1857-1886), a prominent figure in the student movement, who advanced the idea of creating legal socialist literature. He had a brilliant mind and inexhaustible energy. Under his influence the "disorders", which occurred at Warsaw University when a student named Żukowicz slapped the face of a trustee of the educational district Apukhtin, an extremely reactionary tsarist official, acquired the character of a large-scale political protest. Krusiński severed his relations with revolutionary circles because of his ideological differences with Ludwik Waryński. Krusiński wrote his theoretical works at a time when Social-Democracy as a political party was still in its embryonic stage. Nevertheless, Marxism influenced his writings as is evidenced by his assessment of social problems and by his attempts to give a class characterisation of other contemporary philosophic trends.

[1] Kazimierz Sosńowski was a graduate of the St. Petersburg Technological Institute. When he was an instructor at a Warsaw school he organised pupils' self-education circles in 1877, which maintained contact with Narodnik groups in St. Petersburg. The members of those circles planned to hold a congress in Wilno in the spring of 1881 but were arrested; their leaders, including Sosńowski, managed to flee the country. Subsequently Sosńowski dissociated himself from the revolutionary movement.

Krusiński's *Economic and Philosophical Essays* and his *Sociological Essays* were published after his death.

Krusiński[1] played an important part in the publication of the Polish translation of *Capital*: he himself translated a third of the text, was an excellent organiser of the entire translation, and propagandised the book after the publication of its first instalment. He found and enlisted translators from among the students who commenced work on the book in 1882.[2]

Of the group of five men who took part in translating *Capital*—Stanislaw Krusiński, Kazimierz Plawiński, Mieczyslaw Brzeziński, Józef Siemaszko and Ludwik Krzywicki—two did not live to see the book published.[3]

Kazimierz Plawiński (1858-1886) was one of the first Polish socialists. In 1876 he entered the Medical Faculty of Warsaw University but did not complete his studies owing to police repressions to which he was subjected for participating in revolutionary activity. He and his elder brother participated in the socialist movement. Among the members of the student circle which gathered in their home were future functionaries of the Proletariat Party.

---

[1] Among the documents preserved in the Warsaw National Library there is a letter by Krusiński in which he speaks of his work on an abridged version of *Capital*. This publication has not been discovered, and there is no information whether he had completed this work.

[2] L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia*, T. I, Warszawa, 1947, str. 237; T. II. Warszawa, 1958, str. 231.

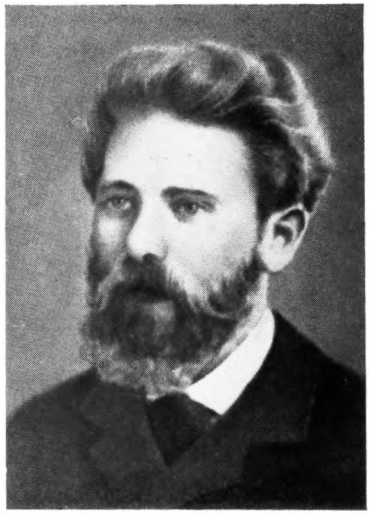
[3] Ź. Korman, *Materiały do bibliografji... 1866-1918*, Warszawa, 1935, str. 176. Some Polish sources, for instance the preface to the edition of *Capital* published in Warsaw in 1950, erroneously indicated that Kazimierz Puchewicz was also one of its translators.

On instructions from this organisation the Plawiński brothers conducted propaganda among the workers and in 1878 were found to be involved in the "case of socialist propaganda" (the case of the 137). The same year Kazimierz met Diksztajn in Cracow. In 1879 he was sentenced to a term in the Warsaw Citadel for helping Russian revolutionaries cross the border. A year later he was released and in 1882 once again entered the University. The same year he went to Geneva to continue his studies. He died of tuberculosis in 1886.

Plawiński was a serious and reserved person. Like other Polish political leaders of those years, he was in some measure influenced by anarchism. He worked on the translation as long as his strength permitted.

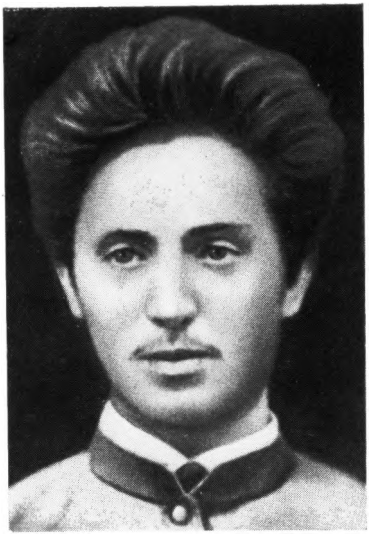
During Plawiński's illness Siemaszko worked on his part of the translation. Józef Siemaszko was a graduate of the Natural Science Faculty of Warsaw University. Subsequently he became a customs official in St. Petersburg. He devoted his free time to biological studies but never published his works.

From the age of 15, Mieczyslaw Brzeziński (1858-1911), whose parents were of modest means, began to earn a living by giving private lessons. He studied at Warsaw University at the same time as Krzywicki. Together with the Plawiński brothers he was involved in the "case of 137" and received a three-year prison term. After this enforced interval he graduated Warsaw University and continued to give private lessons; now that the authorities considered him "politically unreliable" he could not become a school teacher. After his release he gave up propaganda activity. At that time periodicals began to publish his ar-

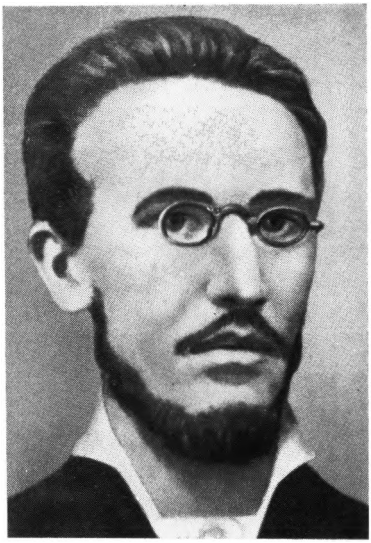


Szymon Diksztajn

Stanislaw Krusiński



Mieczyslaw Brzeziński



Kazimierz Plawiński

ticles in which he set forth his Narodnik views on workers' education.

Ludwik Krzywicki (1859-1941), translator and editor of the Polish edition of *Capital*, was well versed in anthropology, ethnography, the history of primitive society, statistics and bibliography. His first publicistic works appeared in 1883.

He was professor at Polish Free University, Warsaw and Lvov universities and at higher schools of economics. In 1936, when the Sanacja deprived Krzywicki of his chair, the 77-year-old professor became head of the Institute of Social Economics and published reminiscences by unemployed, peasants and emigrants.

The bibliography of Krzywicki's works, which was published in Warsaw three years before his death, is a book of 50 pages. At present his literary heritage is being studied in People's Poland, and some of his works and reminiscences are being republished. His world outlook and activity have become the theme of many research papers.

In some of his earlier works Krzywicki employed the method of historical materialism, he approached the fundamental problem of philosophy from materialist positions. In his book *Genesis of Ideas*, which was translated into Russian in 1902, he recognises that the material world is an objective reality and that consciousness is secondary. Yet it is clear from all his works that he adhered to "above-party" positions and preferred to keep away from the struggle in the period of acute class conflicts.

Krzywicki alienated theory from practice and dissociated himself from the fight for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The result was that he arrived at the positions of "legal Marxism" and was then carried away along

the road of reformism into the camp of bourgeois ideology. He belonged to that part of the intelligentsia which in words accepted the ideas of scientific socialism and the general principles of Marxist theory, but apprehended them abstractly, without associating them with political struggle, which they believed was not essential.[1]

As a young man Krzywicki took part in disseminating Marxist ideas. In addition to *Capital,* he translated several works by Paul Lafargue. His translation into Polish of P. Lafargue's reminiscences of K. Marx was published the same year as the original.[2] Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* in his translation[3] (the original was issued at the end of 1884)[4] was published late in 1885 and reprinted in 1907. The appearance of the Polish translation of this work inaugurated the publication of a series of brochures in accordance with a prospectus drawn up by Krzywicki in 1884 for *Walka klas,* the theoretical organ of the Polish socialists-emigrants published in Geneva.[5] Subsequently Krzywicki worked in the Polish Workers' Union, in the organs of "legal Marxists" and in the PPS.

Krzywicki's works were translated into several languages, and some of the popular brochures written in the early period of his activity were also translated into Russian. The interesting facts which he quoted in one of his articles attracted the attention of Lenin who noted that Krzywicki "gave a vivid picture of the tremendous trans-

---

[1] A detailed analysis of Krzywicki's views is given in the magazine *Mysl filozoficzna,* 1956, N 3 (23).

[2] *Prawda,* 1890, N 48; 1891, N 2.

[3] F. Engels, *Początki cywilisacyi...,* Paryz-Lipsk, 1885.

[4] *Der Sozialdemokrat,* 1884, N 40.

[5] *Walka klas,* 1884, N 5.

formation wrought by capitalism in world agriculture and the tendency of this transformation to socialise production". Lenin had in view Krzywicki's article "Capitalisation of the Agricultural Industry" which was published by the magazine *Mir Bozhy* (God's World) in 1898.[1]

Krzywicki was engrossed in reminiscences of the early period of his activity. A portrait of Marx, the first Polish translation of *Capital*, publications issued by the Proletariat Party and the Polish Workers' Union were to be found in his study. In 1908 he published recollections of his work on the Polish translation of *Capital*. He wrote obituaries and reminiscences in the press whenever there was a death of an acquaintance of his in the socialist movement: about Diksztajn, Waryński, Plawiński and others. Krzywicki made his extensive archives available to Żanna Korman in order to facilitate her compilation of an index of Polish socialist periodicals, and supplemented this valuable bibliography with a preface and notes about some of the publications listed in it.[2]

As we have already said, the translators started work on the Polish edition of *Capital* at the beginning of 1882. All organisational matters were handled by Krusiński who collected advance payment from subscribers and organised paid lectures for young people in order to raise money to pay the printers. These lectures were usually read in cellars, and reliable guards were posted to warn of a police raid.

---

[1] Mentioned by Lenin in footnotes to his *Development of Capitalism in Russia*. See Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 23-607.

[2] Ż. Korman, *Materiały do bibliografji... (1866-1918)*, Wyd. 2, Warszawa, 1942, str. VI.

Among those who translated *Capital* were members of illegal socialist groups in Galicia; when the police searched the home of E. Kolbuchowski, a Cracow University student, they discovered that he had also been working on the translation. The translation was completed at the end of 1882, and it was now necessary to organise its publication.

In the 1880s, soon after the assassination of Alexander II by members of the Narodnaya Volya group, violent political reaction set in. Extraordinary measures were taken against revolutionaries, the press and higher educational establishments were subjected to the most severe reprisals, and national oppression intensified sharply. In addition to imposing a ban on native-language publications and persecuting national cultural workers, the authorities adopted coercive measures to Russify the non-Russian part of the population.

This and the arrest in 1883 of Ludwik Waryński and some functionaries of the Proletariat Party made the translators very cautious in selecting the place for publishing their work. It was decided to have it printed in Leipzig. Acting on Krusiński's suggestion, Krzywicki went to Leipzig where he found a publisher and a printer who undertook to publish the first instalment of the Polish edition of Volume I of *Capital*. But it was necessary to have the author's permission. With this aim in view, on January 23 Krzywicki sent a letter to Engels through Kazimierz Sosnowski, who knew Engels's address. Sosnowski dispatched the letter on the following day together with a short note[1]:

[1] J. W. Borejsza, *W kręgu wielkich wygnańców 1848-1895*, Warszawa, 1963, str. 529 (84). (The letter is erroneously dated January 4, instead of 24).

"Highly esteemed Citizen!

"Several months ago *Capital* was translated into Polish (from the second German edition).[1] There are some difficulties in having this work published in Poland, so I have been sent here, to Germany, to bring out this edition. Its publication is hindered by the absence of permission for the Polish translation which I hope to obtain from you.

"After *Capital* we intend to publish other works by K. Marx provided we have the material means to do so. These means are obtained from the receipts for public lectures and by economising on the subsistence minimum. At present (for material reasons) we have been able to translate only a third of *Capital*, and intend to finish the translation in the nearest future.

"One of your pupils, Krzywicki."[2]

A few days later Krzywicki received permission from Engels and wishes for success. (Engels's letter of January 28, 1884.) At the same time Engels asked Lavrov (who lived in Paris) for information about the translators. "I know Sosńowski who wrote to you and who asked me for your address," Lavrov replied. "He is a sincere and loyal socialist and a splendid young man."[3] Lavrov met Krzywicki in Paris when the first instalment of the translation had already come off the press.

Obviously, some of the letters from Marx and

---

[1] Krzywicki contradicts facts; what he had in mind possibly was that the French translation was made from the second German edition.

[2] L. Krzywicki to F. Engels, January 23, 1884, CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 4423.

[3] *K. Marx's and F. Engels's Correspondence with Russian Political Figures*, p. 271 (in Russian).

Engels to Krzywicki concerning the Polish edition of *Capital* have not been preserved. In his reminiscences Krzywicki mentioned a letter in which Marx suggested that he should translate from the French edition, all the more so, Krzywicki added, because the translators did not have an adequate knowledge of the German. It is also unknown whether a letter from Engels, in which he advised Krzywicki to keep to the third German edition, has been preserved.

The printing of the first Polish instalment was coming to an end, but there were not enough funds to complete the edition. Assistance came from someone among the emigrants living in Geneva. Krzywicki could not say whether it was Diksztajn or Dluski who sent the necessary sum.

In August 1884, *Walka klas*, a Polish magazine published in Geneva, carried on the back of its cover an announcement about the appearance of the first instalment of the Polish translation of Volume I of *Capital*.

The first Polish translation of *Capital* was issued by a small Leipzig publishing house owned by Erazm Lucjan Kasprowicz. For 18 years Kasprowicz worked for the Brockhaus firm.[1] In 1865 he opened his own publishing house called "For All Slavs", hoping to get support from Russians, Poles, Czechs and Serbians.

Kasprowicz inserted an advertisement in the Leipzig *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel* to the effect that his enterprise was "a Russian and Polish publishing house of a liberal trend" and that it was "neither Social-Democratic nor

[1] L. Krzywicki, *Wspomnienia*, T. I, Warszawa, 1947, str. 237.

nihilistic".[1] This characterisation, however, was made out of purely commercial considerations.

There are facts testifying to Kasprowicz's political indiscriminateness.[2]

He published Russian books of diverse trends, including the works of progressive authors whose publication was suppressed by the censor: the banned verses of Pushkin and Lermontov, works by the first Russian revolutionary Radishchev, Decembrists' notes, documents exposing Russian autocrats, open letters to the reactionary government, attacks on Katkov, that "faithful watchdog of the autocracy", and also reviews on the history of religious schisms and sects.

The Polish translation of *Capital* was printed in Weimar in a small printing establishment owned by Uszman. Krzywicki wrote that the owner and his sons themselves set the type and operated the printing machine.

By September 1884 only a third of the entire translation had been published. But after the police had searched Krzywicki's Leipzig flat, he asked Leo Frankel, a student, to read the proofs and promptly left for Switzerland, without waiting for the second instalment to be published. But Frankel, too, was unable to complete the publication of the second instalment: he was arrested in 1885 upon his return to Warsaw. One police document directly calls him a member of the new Central Committee of the Proletariat Party. The police found in Frankel's possession materials for the sixth number of the *Proletariat*

---

[1] *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*, 1884, N 2053.

[2] Kasprowicz tried to get in touch with the gendarmery but his request was rejected.

magazine,[1] which never did see the light of day, and the court accused him of maintaining ties with Krzywicki. These were the last days of the Proletariat Party. Weakened by police terror, it was unable to regain its strength and ceased to exist in 1866.

Subsequent developments are described by Krusiński in a letter sent in May 1885 to Michal Lempicki. "Our translation of *Capital*, about which you were told in Warsaw, is being printed in Leipzig and has not yet been completed because of the lack of funds. Thus far only the first instalment (1/3 of the book) has been published and is being gradually sold; the second is being printed on credit (because the few hundred rubles that have been collected from donations and advance subscriptions were barely enough to pay for the first instalment).

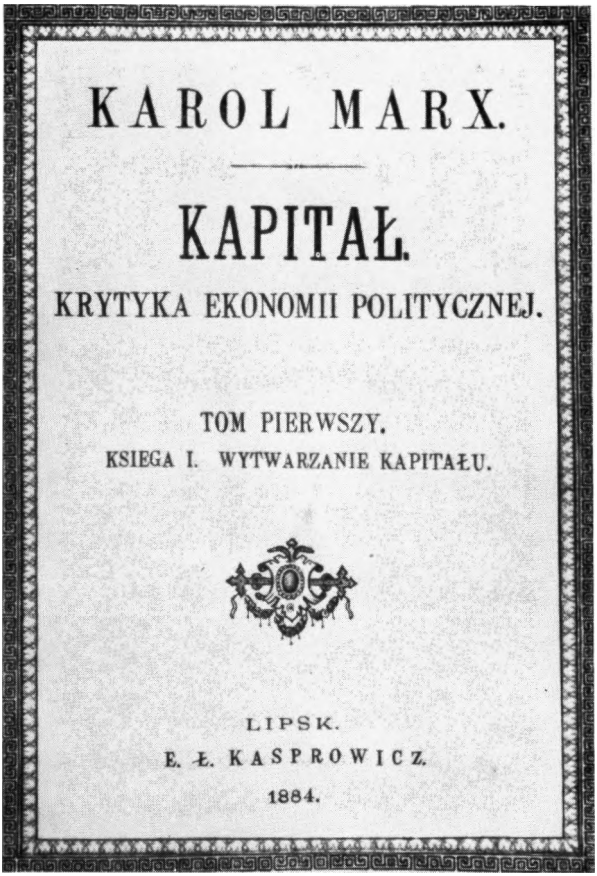
"The censorship did not permit us to print the book in Warsaw, but now it has permitted its sale in Warsaw bookshops among which we have distributed part of the edition on commission. The remainder is kept by the publisher in Leipzig as security.

"In a day or two I shall send you the first instalment (through Mrs. Roncz). Please accept it in remembrance.

"I have translated the entire third instalment, the Preface and Chapters 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8 from the first part of the book. Volume II of *Capital* in German *(The Process of Circulation of Capital*,

---

[1] The first number of the *Proletariat*, the illegal organ of the Proletariat Party, was published in September 1883. Only five numbers of the *Proletariat* were issued [L. Deich, *Russian Revolutionary Emigrants of the 1870s*, p. 46 (in Russian)]. In 1887 Frankel was exiled to Siberia for eight years.


KAROL MARX.

KAPITAŁ.

KRYTYKA EKONOMII POLITYCZNEJ.

TOM PIERWSZY.

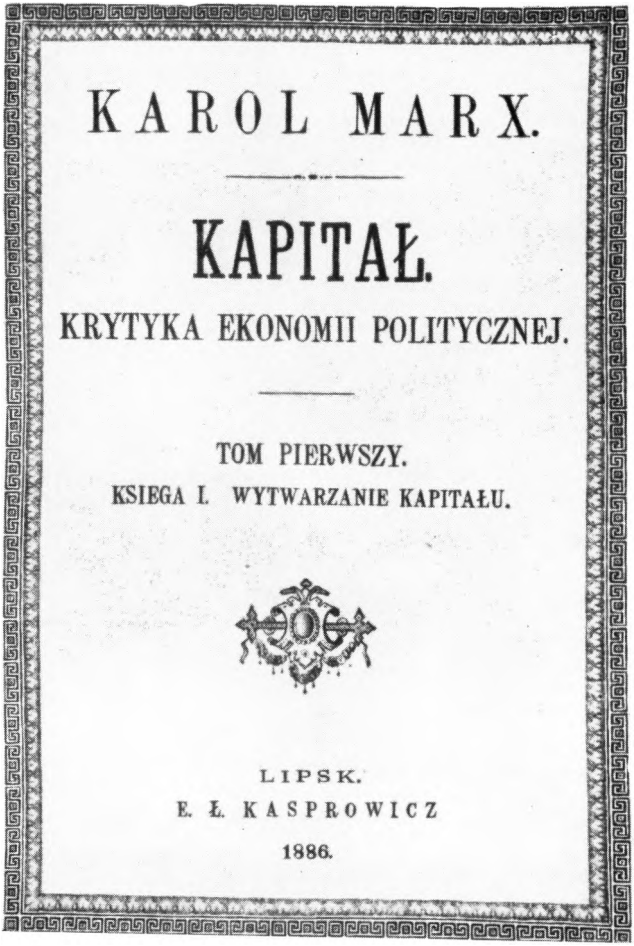
KSIEGA I. WYTWARZANIE KAPITAŁU.

LIPSK.

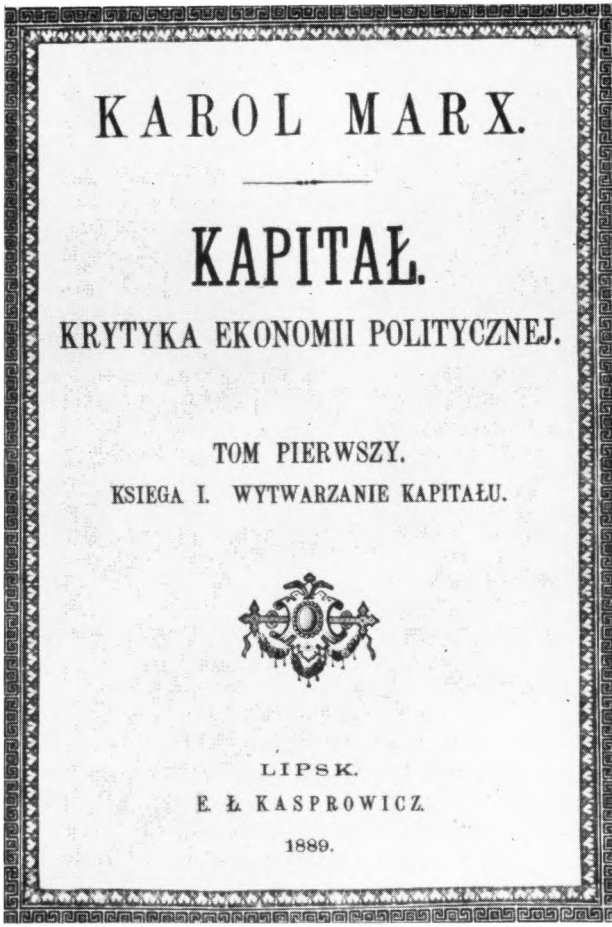
E. Ł. KASPROWICZ.

1884.

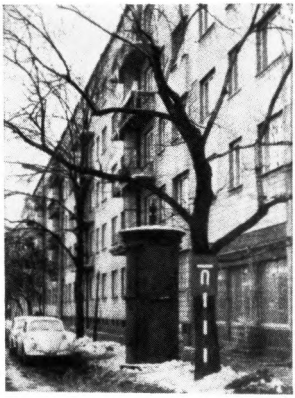
Cover of the first instalment of the first Polish translation of "Capital"

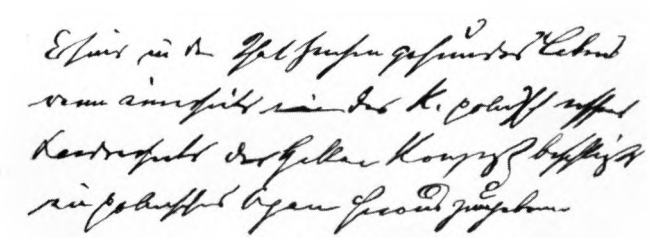


Cover of the second instalment of the first Polish translation of "Capital"



Cover of the third instalment of the first Polish translation of "Capital"





Ludwik Krzywicki

Krzywicki Street in Warsaw, capital of the Polish People's Republic

Engels's note on Krzywicki's letter of October 24, 1890
The original is kept in the CPA IML of the CC CPSU.

edited by Engels, the author's friend) has come off the press. In case some of your friends in Samara would like to have our translation, they may obtain it on the following terms: the price of the entire edition is 3 rubles 50 kopeks, payable upon receipt of the first instalment.

"As the instalments come off the press you can either obtain them directly from me or from a person whom you will name. At present I have a certain number of copies available."[1]

Assistance in continuing the publication of the edition came from the students of the Agricultural Academy in Dublany near Lvov in 1885. In the 1880s Krzywicki wrote for the *Praca*, a workers' socialist newspaper published in Lvov, and even edited some of its issues.[2] He often visited the students of the Agricultural Academy during his stay in the city. It is quite likely that they knew about the translation and decided to help complete the publication by starting a fund-raising campaign among themselves. When Krusiński died in Kazan in 1886, the job of raising funds to pay for the Polish translation of *Capital* was assumed by a student Wincenty Janowicz. In 1886, the same publishing house brought out the second instalment of *Capital*.

The cover of the third instalment bears the year 1889. The same date is indicated in the translators' afterword. The book was published in full at the end of 1890. "Volume I of *Capital* in Polish has been published by Kasprowicz in Leipzig," Engels wrote to Friedrich Sorge on Novem-

---

[1] J. W. Borejsza, *W kręgu wielkich wygnańców. 1848-1895*, Warszawa, 1963, str. 529 (83).

[2] Ż. Korman, *Materiały do bibliografji...* Warszawa, 1935, str. 49.

ber 26, 1890. In a review in the magazine *Prawda* Krzywicki wrote that two works by Marx in Polish translation were published in 1890. They were the last instalment of Volume I of *Capital* and *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* translated by Leon Winiarski.[1]

The Polish translation of *Capital* was dedicated to the memory of its author.

The first three chapters of the first part were translated from the authorised French edition. Part Seven—"The Accumulation of Capital"—was translated from the third German edition published in 1883, in which the text of the last part differed from that of the French translation. But the translators used the French text in those instances when it conveyed the author's thoughts more clearly than did the German original. Upon publication of the Polish translation of Volume I of *Capital*, Krzywicki, on October 24, 1890, sent Engels two copies of the book together with the following letter:

"Dear Comrade,

"Yesterday I mailed you a copy of the Polish translation of Volume I of *Capital*. The publication of the edition has dragged out much too long partially due to political reasons. I would be very grateful to you if you would inform me how matters stand with the third volume of *Capital*. We could temporise with the second volume[2] so as to publish it together with the third.

---

[1] *Prawda*, 1890, N 50.

[2] The first Polish translation of Volume II of *Capital* was edited by L. Krzywicki and J. Marchlewski. When Marchlewski was arrested in October 1891, the police got hold of the manuscript copy of the translation (*Mysl filozoficzna*, 1956, N 3).

"I have also been so bold as to send you a second copy of the Polish translation intended for Madame Aveling.

"Respectfully,

Ludwik Krzywicki."[1]

Engels made the following note on this letter: "Es sind in der Tat Zeichen gesunden Lebens wenn einerseits das K(apital) polnisch erscheint und anderseits der Haller Kongress beschliesst ein polnisches Organ herauszugeben."[2]

In October 1890, the newspaper *Przegląd tygodniowy* printed a review of the third instalment of the Polish edition of *Capital* and of the first Polish translation of Kautsky's work which was a popularisation of *Capital*.[3] Entitled "Marx's Works in Polish Translation",[4] the review welcomed the appearance of *Capital* in Polish, outlined its main propositions in popular form and noted the different styles of some of its parts because it had been translated by several people.

It should also be mentioned that there were 326 pages (two columns per page) in the three instalments of the first translation, while the following edition had 907 pages, i.e., the first translation evidently did not embrace the full text of the original.

---

[1] CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 4936.

[2] "This indeed is a manifestation of full-blooded life, if, on the one hand, there appears a Polish edition of *Capital*, and, on the other, a Party Congress in Halle decides to publish an organ in Polish."

Engels meant the decision of the Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party held in Halle in 1890 to launch an organ in Polish for Poles residing in Germany.

[3] K. Kautsky, *Nauki ekonomiczne Karola Marksa*, Lwow, 1890

[4] *Przegląd tygodniowy*, October 6 (18), 1890.

Contemporaries noted that the translation had certain shortcomings and that it was much too loose.[1] The translators of the next Polish edition of Volume I of *Capital*, which appeared half a century later, also expressed the same view.[2]

The publication of the second edition of *Capital* under the Sanacja proved to be a very difficult matter, and preparations for it lasted seven years. The translators had to begin from the beginning. Volume I was translated before the appearance of Volumes II and III in the original, and, consequently, they had to revise many of the terms. A uniform terminology was elaborated for all three volumes. The translators were handicapped in their work by the absence in those years of scientific political-economic terminology in Polish. Considering that in 1933 the translators complained about the lack of terminology, the situation was obviously not better when the book was first translated into Polish fifty years before.

No information has been preserved as to how the first translators carried on their work. But it is known from the reminiscences of their contemporaries that in their home country they were constantly threatened with arrests, searches and confiscation of the book. Time and again they were compelled to stop work due to the lack of funds. It was also difficult to live abroad, away from their home country and relatives. But fearing censorship, they did not write about these difficulties.

---

[1] B. Limanowski, *Historja ruchu społecznego w XIX stuleciu*, Lwow, 1890, S. 266.

[2] K. Marks, *Kapital* (Wyd. 2), T. I, Zt. 1-3, Warszawa, 1926-1933.

This was their first literary work, and, consequently, they could have overlooked the difficulties which a professional translator would never have missed. To render Marx adequately, according to Engels, a translator at least had to know the subject and languages. Yet none of the translators knew the subject, for they studied Marx's political economy in the process of translating *Capital,* while only the editor had a more or less adequate knowledge of languages.

Organisationally and technically, the translation was made by progressive young people, the first Polish socialists who were the proponents of the finest traditions of the Polish workers' Proletariat Party with which they were associated and with whose help the translation was published.

Despite its shortcomings, inaccuracies, incomplete text, vague terminology, the first Polish edition of *Capital* played a significant role in spreading Marxism in Poland. It became a source from which Polish socialists drew their knowledge of Marx's economic theory for five decades.

The edition appeared at the dawn of the revolutionary movement of the Polish workers who conducted their struggle under the banner of the Proletariat Party in close alliance with Russian revolutionaries. The Party fostered the class consciousness of the workers whose love for their country and realisation of the idea of international proletarian solidarity matured in the fight against bourgeois nationalism. In their message of greetings to an international meeting in Geneva, commemorating the Polish Revolution of 1830, Marx and Engels called upon the Polish people to fight for emancipation in close alliance

with their Russian brothers. The friendship between Russians and Poles was also instrumental in promoting the publication of the first Polish translation of *Capital*.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and drawing on the experience of the fraternal Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Polish United Workers' Party prepared and published in 1950 a new translation of *Capital* in the free Polish Republic.

CHAPTER V

THE ENGLISH EDITION OF "CAPITAL"

After Marx's death August Bebel, the leader of the German proletariat, expressing the concern of all socialists, wrote to Engels on March 17, 1883: "Now the whole world is urgently asking itself: what will become of Marx's unfinished work on *Capital*?"

Death had prevented Marx from putting the finishing touches to his colossal work. But he had completed it in the rough, and Engels took it upon himself to edit and publish Volumes II and III of *Capital*, a job to which he devoted the rest of his life. The fact that Marx had elaborated economic problems in close co-operation with Engels enabled the latter to perform this scientific exploit. In 1885 he published Volume II and in 1894 Volume III of *Capital*. But he died before he had prepared for print Volume IV—*Theories of Surplus-Value*—which Marx called the historical and critical, or historical and literary part of his work.

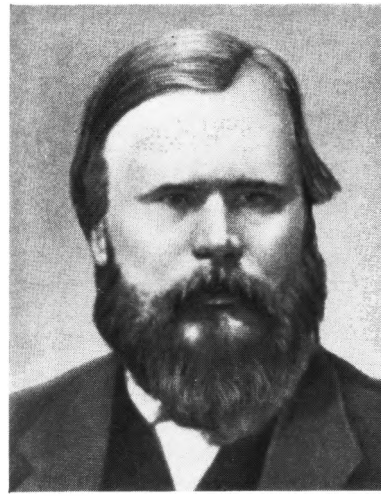
Engels devoted much effort to preparing the manuscripts and publishing Volumes II and III.

He was fully aware of the great responsibility which he had shouldered. "It is particularly important," he wrote to Lavrov on January 28, 1884, "that what I am publishing should be the real *Marx*." Engels made changes and corrections only in those cases when he was absolutely certain that Marx would have definitely approved of them.

To be able to edit the English translation of Volume I of *Capital*, prepare the third and then the fourth German editions of the book, and look over the new editions of other works by Marx and their prefaces almost simultaneously, Engels had to limit his correspondence with leaders of the international working-class movement and with his relatives, and give up work on many studies and articles. He interrupted his scientific research, considering himself duty bound to consummate the cause to which Marx had devoted his whole life and complete his immortal work. Engels realised that only he and he alone could accomplish this mission, and that work on Marx's manuscripts of *Capital* would require a great deal of effort, for each word written by a man such as Marx was worth its weight in gold.

On the second anniversary of Marx's death his family and relatives went to Highgate Cemetery. Engels, who was recuperating from illness, was not with them. But despite his condition he continued to work on *Capital* which, in his opinion, would be a monument to Marx erected by Marx himself and one that would be more majestic than any which others might erect to his memory. Engels regarded his work on Marx's book as a living communion with his friend.[1]

[1] See F. Engels et P. et L. Lafargue, *Correspondance*, t. 1, Paris, 1956, p. 275.



Samuel Moore

Edward Aveling

CAPITAL:

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

By KARL MARX

TRANSLATED FROM THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION, BY SAMUEL MOORE AND EDWARD AVELING

AND EDITED BY

FREDERICK ENGELS

VOL. I.

LONDON:
SWAN SONNENSCHEIN, LOWREY, & CO.,
PATERNOSTER SQUARE.
1887.

Title page of the first English edition of "Capital", Vol. I

As the custodian of Marx's literary heritage, Engels saw to it that his friend's fundamental work was not published in poor translations distorting the author's thoughts. The translators and publishers of *Capital* had to have his permission to publish the work. Still, some translations were published without his permission as, for example, the first Italian edition, of which he learned several years after it had been printed. The idea of translating *Capital* into English came to Marx as far back as 1863. At that time he was working hard on the manuscript of the book in the library of the British Museum and planned to publish it as a second issue following the publication of *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* in 1859.

Attaching signal importance to the dissemination of Marxist economic theory, Marx and Engels stressed the great role of *Capital* for ensuring the victory of the ideas of scientific socialism within the international working-class movement. After the publication of the German edition, Marx, Engels and their relatives made every effort to have the work translated into English.

The main difficulty was that of finding a publisher. Nor was it easy to find a translator. Marx and Engels placed high demands on the person who would translate the work into English. These demands exceeded the minimum qualifications—knowledge of two foreign languages and the subject. Engels formulated these demands as follows: "To translate such a book a fair knowledge of literary German is not enough. Marx uses freely expressions of every-day life and idioms of provincial dialects; he coins new words, he takes his illustrations from every branch of science, his allusions from the literatures of a dozen languages; to understand him, a man

must be a master of German indeed, spoken as well as written, and must know something of German life too ... Marx is one of the most vigorous and concise writers of the age. To render him adequately, a man must be a master, not only of German, but of English too.... Powerful German requires powerful English to render it; the best resources of the language have to be drawn upon; new-coined German terms require the coining of corresponding new terms in English."[1]

At the time when Meissner was publishing *Capital*, Marx, upon the advice of Peter Fox, a journalist who was active in the British working-class movement, intended to have it simultaneously translated into English. But Fox died, and the matter was left open.

Although at the end of the 1860s no complete English translation of the book had been published, the British press started printing excerpts from *Capital*.

Capital was also brought to the attention of the public in Britain by Johann Georg Eccarius, member of the General Council of the International. At the end of 1866 and the beginning of 1867 he published a series of articles in *The Commonwealth*, organ of the International, criticising the bourgeois economist and exponent of positivism John Stuart Mill who exerted considerable influence on the workers' aristocracy in Britain. In writing these articles Eccarius turned to Marx for assistance. Two years later they were published in German in a separate booklet.[2]

---

[1] *The Commonwealth*, Vol. 1, No. 10, November 1885, p. 97.

[2] J. G. Eccarius, *Eines Arbeiters Widerlegung der nationalökonomischen Lehren John Stuart Mill's*, Berlin, 1869.

Before the appearance of the German edition of Volume I of *Capital*, Eccarius published in the *Bee-hive*, organ of the International issued in London, an excerpt from the Preface which dealt with capitalist production in Britain. The translation was weak, and there were misprints in the text. The introduction to the publication was written by Eccarius.[1]

In 1869, to popularise *Capital* in Britain, Engels, in compliance with Marx's request, wrote a review of a book for the liberal *Fortnightly Review* magazine. Marx also believed that the review would facilitate their search for a publisher. Engels thoroughly prepared for this review; he exchanged views with Marx concerning its content and form and included passages from Marx's letters in it. But the magazine returned the manuscript of the review with the note that "it was too scientific for the English review-reader".[2]

While Engels discussed with Marx the problem of inserting the article in the *Fortnightly Review*, the conservative London magazine *Saturday Review* in January 1868 published a survey of new German books in which it gave the following opinion of *Capital:* "The author's views may be as pernicious as we conceive them to be, but there can be no question as to the plausibility of his logic, the vigour of his rhetoric, and the charm with which he invests the driest problems of political economy."[3]

---

[1] Eccarius supported Marx up to 1872 and then sided with the reformist leaders of British trade unions.

[2] Marx à Collet, September 6, 1871, CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 2974.

[3] K. Marx, *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, p. 61.

In his search for translators Marx never negotiated with strangers. "A certain Nahmer in New York has offered himself as English translator," he wrote to Kugelmann on October 15, 1867. The offer was declined.

In a letter to Engels, dated May 8, 1869, Marx informed his friend that George Harney, a Chartist, had asked Marx to send him a copy of *Capital* for the purpose of finding a translator and a publisher for it in New York. In 1871, John Hales, member of the General Council of the International, and Thomas Allsop, Marx's old friend and revolutionary Chartist, approached Marx with a request to publish an English translation of *Capital*.[1]

In 1877-1878 another attempt was made to translate *Capital*, this time by journalist Adolphe Douai (1819-1888), who had emigrated to the United States in 1852. In the years 1868-1869 he published the newspaper *Arbeiter-Union*, which became the organ of the amalgamated German workers' association in the USA and influenced the American working-class movement in the spirit of socialism. Negotiations with Douai reached the point where Marx prepared a copy of the French edition of *Capital* for him and indicated the passages which should be used as the basis for translation. However, Sorge, who had suggested Douai as translator, subsequently went back on his own proposal. Although Douai did not translate *Capital*, he took an active part in popularising it in the USA.

Talks concerning possible translators and the search for a publisher continued for almost two decades, in the course of which all this petty

[1] J. Hales to K. Marx, August 4, 1871, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 2446.

but necessary work was discussed by Marx, Engels and their friends and associates.

The explanation of the fact that the Russian translation of Volume I of *Capital* appeared five years after the publication of the original, the French after eight years, and the English after 20 years should be sought in the specific conditions of the working-class and socialist movement in those countries.

At the close of the 1870s, the peculiarities of Britain's development brought about stagnation in her working-class and socialist movement. By mid-19th century Britain became the "world's industrial workshop" and its most developed capitalist country. The economic boom at the end of the 1860s and the beginning of the 1870s created favourable conditions for the workers' struggle to improve their living conditions. As the incomes of the capitalists increased, they shared part of their profits with the workers' aristocracy (a stratum of qualified workers). This workers' aristocracy locked itself within narrow corporations, dissociated itself from the proletarian masses and in politics adhered to the views of the liberal bourgeoisie. Marx and Engels repeatedly noted that socialist propaganda in Britain would fall on fertile soil only with the weakening of the country's economic positions and the termination of her industrial monopoly in the world market. Marx wrote Adolph Hepner on December 30, 1872: "... as had to be expected, things are worse here with the movement than ever before owing to the upsurge in industry."

But in the 1880s Britain's world industrial monopoly was weakened by the USA, and Germany was steadily outstripping her in rates of development. Britain's share in world industrial produc-

tion fell, and the economic foundation of liberal trade unionism crumbled. As Britain's trade and industrial monopoly waned, the British bourgeoisie partially lost its sources of monopoly super-profits which had enabled it to bribe the privileged upper stratum of the working class and thus split its ranks. All these processes naturally caused the broadest strata of workers to swing to the Left.

In the mid-1880s there was a definite upsurge in the British working-class movement that found its expression in mass strikes, spontaneous actions of the unemployed, the formation of "new trade unions", and so forth. At the same time, a number of organisations, which called themselves socialist but which, in effect, were far removed from genuine socialism, appeared in the country. Henry Mayers Hyndman, leader of a small group of like-minded persons, was considered the exponent of socialism in Britain. In 1881, Hyndman, whom Engels in a letter to Bebel characterised as "an arch-conservative and an extremely chauvinistic but not stupid careerist",[1] founded the Democratic Federation, an association of radical societies of a semi-bourgeois and semi-proletarian nature. While proclaiming Marxism as its official ideology, the Federation, nevertheless, adhered to sectarian-dogmatic positions, which created an insurmountable barrier between it and the masses.

In 1884, the Democratic Federation was transformed into the Social-Democratic Federation. Despite the fact that it included a group of revolutionary Marxists (Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling, Tom Mann and others), who endeavoured to establish close contacts with the

[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence 1846-1895*, London, 1934, p. 419.

mass working-class movement, the Federation was out of touch with the workers and was permeated with a spirit of sectarianism. Edward Aveling, Tom Mann, Harry Quelch and William Morris withdrew from the Federation in protest against the opportunism of its leaders and in December 1884 formed an independent organisation which they called the Socialist League.

In these conditions it was necessary to provide the workers with a theoretical weapon for their practical struggle. It was the purpose of *Capital*, which was referred to as the "Bible of the working class", to help the British workers acquire a Marxist understanding of the aims of the working-class movement.

The German and French editions, which Marx sent to his friends and acquaintances in Britain, were read by a limited number of people. Marx began mailing the German edition as soon as it came off the press. Among the people who received it were Peter Fox and Friedrich Lessner, a tireless propagandist of scientific communism, who was forced to emigrate to London in 1856 where he participated in the work of the First International and was a member of the London German Workers' Educational Association. Marx also sent a copy of the book to Professor Edward Spencer Beesly of London University, who in 1864 chaired the inaugural meeting of the International, but inadequate knowledge of German prevented him from reading it. It was very difficult to circulate *Capital* in Britain even among people who knew German, because they lacked the theoretical knowledge of the subject. Peter Fox very aptly described the helplessness of the English in theoretical matters. Upon receiving a copy of *Capital* as a gift from Marx, he wrote

him that he felt like a person who had been given an elephant and did not know what to do with it.

Ernest Belfort Bax, British sociologist and one of the first propagandists of Marxism in Britain, also did not have a clear idea of Marx's economic theory. Bax first read *Capital* in 1879 and then published an article about it in the *Modern Thought* magazine. Mentioning this to Sorge in a letter, dated December 15, 1881, Marx wrote: "Now that is the first English publication of that kind which is pervaded by a real enthusiasm for the new ideas themselves and boldly stands up against Brit. philistinism." Marx viewed the article favourably but added that much was "wrong and confused" in the way Bax set forth economic problems and translated passages from the book.

In addition to the German edition of *Capital*, Marx sent the French translation of the work to his acquaintances, including Communards residing in London, and Allsop.

Among those who propagandised *Capital* in Britain was Andreas Scheu, a functionary of the International who was forced to leave his native Austria in 1874. On his advice, William Morris, a prominent poet and artist, began studying the French edition of *Capital* and other works by Marx and in the 1880s became an active member of the working-class and socialist movement in Britain.

Harry Quelch, a prominent Left-winger in the British working-class movement, whom Lenin described as "one of the most energetic and devoted workers in the British Social-Democratic movement",[1] said that he began to espouse so-

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 369.

cialism after reading *Capital*. In 1883 Quelch joined the Democratic Federation. At the time he was a packer at a London paper factory, and although he had a poor knowledge of French, he studied the book[1] which greatly influenced his world outlook.

To all appearances, Marx and his friends at first thought that it would not be long before *Capital* would be translated into English. In 1868, the Leipzig newspaper *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* carried an article about the planned translation of the book into Russian and English.

While the French edition of *Capital* eventually appeared in Paris in 1875, despite great intervals between separate instalments and delays in printing, the negotiations concerning the English translation of the work for a long time failed to yield any positive results.

Marx thought about an English edition of *Capital* with some anxiety, bearing in mind how much time and effort he had devoted to editing the French translation. At the same time, London book-sellers made several attempts to issue an English version of *Capital* without securing the author's consent, i.e., without the author approving the translation. But Marx managed to cut short all of them.

Marx repeatedly tried to persuade his daughter Laura to translate the work into English. But she maintained with her inherent modesty that she had to do a lot of reading before she could tackle such a responsible task. In 1882, when Laura was visiting with him in London, Marx took up the subject again, suggesting that she

---

[1] See S. Bünger, *Friedrich Engels und die britische sozialistische Bewegung v. 1881-1895*, Berlin, 1962, S. 49.

should settle in Ventnor and work under his guidance. This time Laura agreed, but the death of her elder sister Jenny and subsequent events disrupted these plans.[1]

When Marx was still alive, Engels suggested that the translation should be made by his friend Samuel Moore (about 1830-1912), an English lawyer, whom he first met in Manchester in 1863. Engels and Moore became fast friends. The latter was always a welcome guest at the Marxs'. During his visits to London he would accompany Marx on his Sunday walks and then spend the rest of the day with Marx and his family.

Moore, who wholeheartedly shared the interests of his friends, joined the Manchester section of the International, one of the most active in the organisation, and performed various missions connected with the practical revolutionary activity of Marx and Engels. Once, in the summer of 1867, Engels discussed with Moore separate passages from *Capital* and saw that the latter understood them correctly. That settled the question of who should translate *Capital* into English. When Volume I of *Capital* came off the press Moore read it with great interest. "The most conscientious reader," as Engels called Moore, started to prepare himself for the job of translating *Capital*. Under Engels's guidance he began to study political economy and made such excellent progress that together with his instructor he debated the main propositions of *Capital* with Achille Loria, an Italian economist and falsifier of Marxism, who was in London at the time.

To improve his knowledge of German Moore made several trips to Germany. He also had an

[1] See Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1959, p. 142.

outstanding gift for mathematics, and Marx sometimes consulted him when formulating the main laws of economic crises. In 1881, Moore received a lawyer's certificate and opened a private office in Manchester. He advised his friends on all legal problems which frequently arose in the course of their practical activity. When we read that Marx managed to thwart the attempts of British publishers to bring out an unauthorised translation of his work, credit for this should be given to Moore who closely guarded the interests of both Marx and Engels and gave them timely legal advice.

In Engels's opinion, Moore was a hardworking, reliable translator possessing adequate theoretical knowledge.[1] But the search for a publisher was still on and that prevented him from starting the translation. The final decision on this matter was taken when Marx was no longer alive. "There is a chance," Engels wrote to Laura Lafargue on June 2, 1883, "of a translation of the *Capital* being published by Kegan Paul and Co.; they would be the best men.... S. Moore will translate, and I shall revise.... He is by far the best man, slightly heavy, but that can be mended."[2]

In September of the same year Engels, while on vacation in Eastbourne, reviewed Moore's rough translation which for the most part was done very well and in a lively style. This convinced Engels that Moore would do the job well. Half a year later it turned out that the translation was proceeding slowly because Moore was overloaded with legal work and, as Engels wrote

[1] In 1887 Samuel Moore translated Marx's and Engels's *Manifesto of the Communist Party* into English.

[2] Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1959, p. 137.

to Laura Lafargue on March 31, 1884, was "too conscientious to make haste 'to the detriment of quality' ".

Moore began to translate from the second German edition of *Capital*, and beginning with April 1884 switched to the third German edition. In the main the translation had been completed by March 1886.[1]

In April 1884 Engels learned from Moore that Hyndman, a socialist-reformist, was allegedly intending to translate *Capital*. Already then Hyndman, who subsequently deserted to the camp of the overt enemies of Marxism, was a "democrat" of an uncertain hue and in his sympathies gravitated to the Conservative Party. He read the French translation of *Capital* during one of his trips to the United States which he made in the period between 1874 and 1880.

After reading this work he accepted socialism but, nevertheless, remained a "very, very confused bourgeois democrat".[2] At the beginning of the 1880s he maintained ties for a short time with Marx. Their split was caused by an episode in the struggle for the purity of the proletarian party in which Marx permitted no compromise on questions of principle. In 1881 Hyndman published a booklet *England for All*[3] attempting to adapt the propositions of scientific communism to the programme of a bourgeois-democratic organisation which had absolutely nothing in common with the aims and tasks of the revolutionary proletariat.

---

[1] The copies of the German editions which Moore used contain many of his notes and several remarks by Engels. These copies were discovered in London in 1952 and transferred for keeping to the Marx Memorial House in London.

[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 310.

[3] H. Hyndman, *England for All*, London, 1881.

The booklet was intended as a commentary to the programme of the Democratic Federation founded by Hyndman. He devoted two chapters of the booklet to the ideas set forth in *Capital,* mentioning neither its author nor the book itself.

Hyndman wrote a letter to Marx in which he tried to justify the deliberate omission of Marx's name with the absurd allegation that it was hated so much, etc. There is a rough copy of Marx's reply to Hyndman. In it he ridiculed and demolished Hyndman's arguments and protested against the inclusion of the propositions of scientific communism into the programme of a bourgeois-democratic organisation. Moreover, Marx exposed Hyndman as a dishonest person.

At about the same time Moore complained to Engels that he was making slow progress and said that he would welcome the assistance of another translator. In the spring of 1884 Edward Aveling joined in translating Volume I of *Capital.*

Edward Aveling (1851-1898), atheist and Darwinist, was a prominent figure in the British working-class movement which he joined in the 1870s. At that time he started studying the works of Marx and Engels and became their supporter. He and his wife Eleanor Marx conducted extensive publicistic activity, and some of their works were published in the press or appeared as separate booklets. In them they examined the condition of the working class and the working-class movement in Britain and the U.S.A., parliamentary elections in Britain[1] and other issues.

Aveling published two special works on *Capital*, which were initially written as lectures: a

[1] *Die Neue Zeit,* Jg. 10, 1891-1892, Bd. 2, N 45, S. 596-603.

course of lectures on *Capital* (1884) and an introduction to the study of *Capital* (1892).[1] He and his wife joined the Democratic Federation and then, after its reorganisation, the Social-Democratic Federation.

The Avelings opposed sectarianism and reformism in the British socialist movement and urged for creating a mass political workers' party. Together with other socialists, who opposed Hyndman's sectarian policy, they withdrew from the Federation and took part in the founding of the Socialist League.

In the 1880s, Aveling, an extraordinarily gifted propagandist, did much to help spread scientific socialism in Britain. His lectures and talks earned high praise from contemporaries. But for him Marx's economic teaching was not a guide to action, and he merely projected it in an abstract manner. As a member of the Democratic Federation Aveling took an active part in all its undertakings. On March 16, 1884, there was a meeting at Highgate Cemetery to mark the anniversary of Marx's death and the proclamation of the Paris Commune, at which speeches were delivered by representatives of the German and French working-class movements, with Edward Aveling speaking on behalf of the Democratic Federation.

Aveling and a group of socialists withdrew from the League in 1888 after its leadership was taken over by anarchists. He was an organiser of the mass movement of unskilled workers in Britain and of the movement of the unemployed, and to-

---

[1] Ed. Aveling, *The Curse of Capital*, London, 1884; *The Student's Marx. An Introduction to the Study of Karl Marx "Capital"*, London, 1892.

gether with Eleanor worked for the establishment of mass new trade unions. In 1889 he was delegated to the International Socialist Workers' Congress. He joined the Independent Labour Party of Britain soon after its foundation in 1893, and was elected to its Executive Committee.

Marx and Engels carried on extensive theoretical and practical revolutionary work in the International and, when it had ceased its activity, guided the working-class movement in Britain, Spain, Italy, France and, first and foremost, in Germany. They were the recognised leaders of the international revolutionary movement, and when Marx died Engels continued alone in the capacity of "adviser to the European proletariat".

In addition to working on the manuscripts of Volumes II and III of *Capital* and carrying on extensive correspondence with leaders of the international revolutionary movement, Engels also completed the work of organising the translation.

In 1884, following discussions with both translators, Moore and Aveling, he suggested that Laura Lafargue should join them in their work and offered her every assistance. (Letter to Laura Lafargue, dated April 18, 1884.) But she refused, and Engels, in his letter of May 26, made yet another unsuccessful attempt to talk her into accepting his offer.

In October 1885, the *To-Day*[1] magazine started printing chapters from *Capital* translated by Hyndman and published under the name of D. Broadhouse. Engels, his indignation aroused by this work which distorted the essence of *Capi-*

---

[1] *To-Day*, 1885, Nos. 22-24; 1889, Nos. 62-65. Seven chapters and a large part of the eighth were published in this period.

tal, published an article entitled "How Not to Translate Marx",[1] containing a comprehensive critical analysis of the translation. The translator, he wrote, "seems perfectly ignorant of what is really conscientious scientific work".[2] Engels noted all the shortcomings of the translation: its limited vocabulary, lack of uniform terminology, confusion of concepts resulting in loss of meaning and distortion of the author's thoughts, etc. To quote Engels's apt expression, the translator furnished a "specimen of the turning of German sense into English nonsense".[3]

"The Broadhouse (Hyndman) translation of *Capital* is pure comedy," Engels wrote to Sorge on April 29, 1886. "The first chapter translated from the German is ridiculously full of errors. Now the translation is being made from the French with the same errors." Hyndman's translation, which the magazine continued publishing, made it obvious that a correct translation of the work was urgently needed. Engels emphasised this in a letter to Schlüter on March 3, 1886. "Generally speaking," he wrote, "a competitive translation (Hyndman's translation.—*A.U.*) is detestable, but things will be much worse if it is not promptly removed."[4]

But Moore and Aveling made slow progress, for both of them were very busy men and translating was not their main occupation.

Engels had a hard time editing the English text. He admitted that translating *Capital* into English was "terrible work". He checked the

---

[1] *The Commonweal*, Vol. 1, No. 10, 1885, p. 97.
[2] Ibid., p. 98.
[3] Ibid., p. 97.
[4] CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 4607.

translation and wrote his suggestions in pencil in the margin. The translators studied them and then they all gathered to discuss controversial questions. Sometimes Engels would reread the text "to see that everything is made ready for the press, stylistically and technically, and all the quotations, which Tussy has looked up in the English originals".[1]

The greater part of the translation was made by Moore. Engels always praised his work and admitted that Moore was invaluable in polishing the text, because he had a "capital eye . . . and a very ready hand".[2]

Aveling translated only a sixth of the book,[3] but his part was much more difficult to edit. In Engels's opinion, he did not do such a thorough job as Moore, for both the economic theory and the author's language were new to him.

In March 1886 the translation was completed and submitted to Engels who on May 23 arranged with Swan Sonnenschein to have it published. The first edition was to be issued in 500 copies to be sold at 32 shillings each, while the second (stereotyped) edition would be much cheaper.

When Engels signed the agreement with the publisher he had already edited 450 pages of the text. But the printing proceeded slowly, for proofs were sent to both translators and also to Engels, who, although on vacation in the autumn of 1886, continued to read them. *Capital* was printed in Perth, Scotland. The printing of the book was handicapped by the inefficient work and numerous

---

[1] Engels à L. Lafargue, April 28, 1886, CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 6147.

[2] Ibid., fund 1, file 1, No. 6148.

[3] See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, pp. 3-4.

delays on the part of the printers and the publisher. But at the end of September 1886 they began to rush the job, just at the time when Engels was editing the last part which required the most thorough scrutiny.

To be able to edit the English translation of Volume I of *Capital*, Engels had to lay aside all his other literary work, particularly the job of completing Volume II, and limit his correspondence to a minimum. When he finished struggling through the manuscript he received the proofs which kept him under such pressure that he was unable to do anything else for weeks on end. Still, he was pleased that there would be an English edition of *Capital*. "This damned English translation," he wrote to Sorge on September 16-17, 1886, "has cost me almost a year of work. But it was absolutely necessary and I do not regret it."

At the end of November 1886 the work was completed, and Engels sent the last proofs of the Preface to the publisher. In his Preface Engels wrote that the translation was based on the third German edition and partially on Marx's interpolations to the French edition, indicating the alterations to be made in this translation. Engels also described Marx's method of quoting and the importance of his terminology used in *Capital* for the first time. On the basis of an analysis of the economic situation in Britain Engels arrived at the conclusion that a social revolution could take place in that country.

Sonnenschein issued a prospectus of the English edition of *Capital* and inserted an advertisement in the newspaper *Justice* about its forthcoming publication.[1] Notices were also regularly printed

[1] *Justice*, 1886, No. 128.

on the covers of the magazine *To-Day* in 1886 and 1887.

The first English edition of *Capital* was issued in two volumes (500 copies) at the beginning of January 1887. Engels, Marx's daughters and all their friends and acquaintances impatiently awaited the British press reviews of the book.

But two months passed and not a single major newspaper commented on the work. At last the *Athenaeum*,[1] a literary critical magazine, printed an anonymous review. But Engels's hopes that it would bring others in its wake did not materialise.

There was another review, but written by clergyman Philip Henry Wicksteed, a representative of the Christian-Socialist trend, it only aroused Engels's indignation at the political indiscriminateness of the editor of *To-Day*, a magazine which professed to be socialist.

Nevertheless the book was bought up within two months of its publication, with almost half the edition being sold in the U.S.A. In April 1887, Sonnenschein published the second (stereotyped) edition which was also issued in 500 copies and in two volumes. In 1889 and 1891 *Capital* was published in one-volume editions; these were followed by other stereotyped editions brought out in London.[2]

---

[1] *Athenaeum*, 1887, No. 3097.

[2] On the back of the title page of the edition of Volume I of *Capital* published in 1920 in London by Glaisher's there is a list of all editions of *Capital* issued up to 1920.

According to this list, only four editions came out during Marx's lifetime, the first in May 1886 and the second in February 1887. Glaisher gives the wrong dates for these two editions, as can be seen from the information contained in Engels's letters. Moreover, Glaisher mentions an unknown edition dated "September 1888" and

A collation of these data with Engels's notes shows that out of 1,500 copies issued in the period from 1887 to 1891, 794 were sold in Britain and 700 in the U.S.A.[1] Not very impressive figures for such economically advanced countries, but that can be explained. At the time the British proletariat was beguiled with reformist illusions, which could not but tell on the workers' interest in *Capital*. Owing to the specific conditions of Britain's historical development, the successes of her working-class movement did not result in the fusion of the working-class movement with socialism; in the years that followed it continued to adhere to the bourgeois labour policy.

Engels intended to spread the English translation of *Capital* not only in Britain but also in the U.S.A.

Moreover, before the appearance of Volume I of *Capital* in Hamburg, Marx discussed with Meissner the possibility of spreading the German edition of the book in the U.S.A. where there was a large colony of German revolutionary emigrants among whom were Joseph Weydemeyer, Friedrich Sorge and others.

Joseph Weydemeyer, one of the most loyal friends of Marx and Engels, member of the Communist League and outstanding figure in the international working-class movement, fled his country in the summer of 1851 to evade arrest. First he went to Switzerland and then to the United States. Marx and Engels considered him

---

omits the edition of 1891. Today a stereotyped edition is considered a new printing of the same edition, whereas in Britain such new printing is viewed as a new edition.

[1] Engels's notes concerning the spread of *Capital* (1887-1891). CPA IML, fund 1, file 1, No. 5058.

one of the most prominent figures in the Communist League. In their view, he had sufficient theoretical grounding to be the party's permanent representative in the U.S.A. Upon arriving there he at once plunged into extensive propaganda activity.

After emigrating to the U.S.A., Friedrich Sorge took part in organising the American sections of the International. Hermann Meyer, a friend of Weydemeyer and a participant in the revolution of 1848-1849, and many others played a prominent role in the activities of the St. Louis section of the International and worked for the emancipation of the Negroes. It was these pioneers of the working-class movement in the U.S.A. that brought Marx's teaching to American soil and became its tireless propagandists.

There were historical conditions in the U.S.A. which slowed up the development of the proletariat's class consciousness and impeded the growth of the socialist movement. "In the United States of North America," Marx wrote, "every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic."[1] The defeat inflicted by the North on the slave-owning states in the Civil War of 1861-1865 inaugurated the rise of the working-class movement in the U.S.A.

Broad vistas opened up in the country for the development of capitalism. But it was only at the end of the 19th century that stable cadres of the industrial proletariat were formed in the U.S.A. The bourgeoisie made use of the multinational composition of the U.S. proletariat to split the

---

[1] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, p. 301.

working-class movement: privileges were granted to the upper sections of the working class composed of the native population, while immigrants and Negroes did not always earn a subsistence wage. The economic crisis, which started in 1873, further worsened the conditions of the bulk of the U.S. proletariat. In this period the U.S. working-class movement suffered from ideological disorder caused by the activities of the Lassalleans, anarchists and proponents of other teachings hostile to Marxism.

A group of German emigrants played an important role in the U.S. working-class movement which was actually divided into two branches. One branch consisted of emigrants some of whom maintained contacts with Marx and Engels, and the other of the native U.S. proletariat influenced by reformism. Consequently, there was urgent need for such an ideological weapon as *Capital* to help free the workers from this influence.

The Germans, who participated in the U.S. revolutionary movement, could obtain copies of *Capital* through advance subscriptions organised by Becker at the circulation department of the *Vorbote*. Volume I of *Capital* was also available at Schmidt Publishers in New York, which was authorised to sell the book in the U.S.A. (the title page of the first German edition bore the words: "Hamburg, Meissner", and "New York, L. W. Schmidt, 24. Barclay Street"). In addition to Schmidt, two other U.S. publishers placed orders for the book. One of them, Julius Bordollo, was a member of the Socialist Labour Party of North America. Meissner, the publisher of *Capital*, hoped that the book would find a good market in the U.S.A. and in October 1867 wrote to Marx asking whether he "had succeeded in doing any-

thing for the book in New York".[1] In January 1868, Hermann Meyer informed Marx that his book had elicited interest in the U.S.A. Schmidt told Meyer that *Capital* would have had a bigger market if free copies of it had been sent to newspapers for review. But Meyer refrained from asking Meissner for such financial outlays because he was not sure whether they would be justified.[2]

The emigrants learned of *Capital* from Marx himself who sent them copies of the book. This form of propaganda fully justified itself: the book was read by the recipients and their friends. News about Marx's work also reached them through mutual friends and acquaintances. Meyer, for example, heard about it from Friedrich Kapp, a German emigrant historian residing in the U.S.A., who in turn was informed about its appearance by Ludwig Feuerbach.

Progressive U.S. newspapers began publishing excerpts from *Capital*, thus bringing this work to the attention of their readers.

Hermann Meyer inserted separate passages from the book, particularly from the chapter on the working day, in several U.S. newspapers. They were published by the Sunday supplement to the *Westliche Post*,[3] organ of the St. Louis petty-bourgeois democrats, and in *The Sun*, whose editor since 1868 was Charles Dana, a progressive journalist. He knew of Marx through his articles in the *New York Daily Tribune* and *American*

---

[1] O. Meissner to K. Marx, October 7, 1867, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1742.

[2] H. Meyer to K. Marx, January 26, 1868, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1815.

[3] *Die Mississipi Blätter*, Sonntagsblatt der Zeitung *Westliche Post*, 1867 (H. Meyer to K. Marx, January 26, 1868, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 1815).

Cyclopaedia and deeply respected him for his erudition. But Dana hastened to dissociate himself from Marx and said that he printed excerpts from his book only because of its topicality and the controversy which it had precipitated in the U.S.A.[1]

In 1868-1869 excerpts from *Capital* were regularly published by the *Arbeiter-Union* whose editorial staff included Adolphe Douai, a petty-bourgeois democrat who in 1877-1878 conducted talks with Marx concerning the translation of *Capital*. In 1878, Douai published several articles about *Capital* in the New York newspaper *Socialiste*.[2] Excerpts from *Capital* were also printed in the supplement to the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* of which he was co-editor in the 1880s.[3] Another newspaper which published extracts from *Capital* was *Justice*, organ of the Social-Democratic Federation.[4]

In 1880, while staying in Ramsgate, Marx made the acquaintance of John Swinton, an American journalist and publisher who travelled in Europe as a correspondent of the progressive bourgeois newspaper *The Sun*. Swinton published a friendly article about Marx in the newspaper. Later, upon returning to London, Marx sent him a copy of the French edition of *Capital*.

Functionaries of the International in the U.S.A. energetically propagandised Marx's economic teaching at meetings of its German sections in New York during which economic reports were

---

[1] *The Sun*, January 26, 1868.

[2] E. Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika*, Göttingen, 1958, S. 63.

[3] *Wochenblatt der New Yorker Volkszeitung*, 1885, N 33.

[4] *Justice*, 1887, N 172.

discussed with extensive reference to Volume I of *Capital*. "Among the hundreds of members of the union in the period from 1869 to 1874," Sorge wrote to Marx, "almost every one of them had read his Marx (*Capital*), and there were, of course, more than a dozen who had grasped and studied the most difficult passages and terms and were thus fully equipped to repulse all attacks by the big and petty bourgeoisie, radicals and reformists."

After the transfer of the General Council of the International to New York, the North American Federation of the International began to issue its own organ—the weekly newspaper *Arbeiter Zeitung*. In Sorge's opinion it was a genuinely workers' newspaper, published by the workers themselves and with their money. In 1873 it carried excerpts from *Capital* and articles popularising Marx's economic teaching.

Another effective method of spreading Marx's economic theory in the U.S.A. was connected with the struggle for an eight-hour working day, or rather with the traditions of this struggle, which arose shortly after the Civil War of 1861-1865.

"The first fruit of the Civil War," Marx wrote in *Capital*, "was the eight hours' agitation, that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."[1] One of the initiators of this movement was Ira Steward, a Boston fitter. He became interested in Marx's economic theory, read *Capital* and in a letter to Sorge spoke of his admiration for the book, particularly for the chapters dealing with the working day.[2]

[1] K. Marx. *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1965, p. 301.

[2] See Ph. Foner, *History of the Labour Movement in the United States*, New York, 1947, p. 367.

The movement for an eight-hour working day spread throughout the country. Local sections of the International supported the initiative of trade unions in organising a demonstration for an eight-hour working day in New York on September 13, 1871. The leaflet[1] distributed among the demonstrators gave a direct answer to all problems agitating the minds of the workers, bolstered their militant spirit and theoretically proved the need to fight for their rights. The text of the leaflet was taken from the chapter of Marx's *Capital* in which he showed that under capitalism the question of the limits of the working day could be solved only through struggle.

On Sorge's recommendation, more than 13,000 of these leaflets, containing an appeal to uphold the workers' right to an eight-hour working day, were issued by the New York section of the International Workingmen's Association (in German and English) and distributed during the demonstration in order, as Lafargue said, "to foster staunchness among the workers and to prove to them that their demands are just". After that the leaflet was re-issued and reprinted several times in German and English workers' newspapers in New York, London, Leipzig, Vienna and other cities.

Judging from the interest shown in this leaflet as well as in Marxist booklets, it was clear that the development of the working-class movement in the U.S.A. had reached the stage when popular publications were essential for the propaganda of scientific communism. Taking this into account, Engels asked Kelley-Wischnewetzky, an American socialist, to write a series of booklets explaining some of the problems raised in *Capital*. Sug-

[1] *Der Volksstaat*, 1871, N 83.

gesting the themes, he added that the publication of a series of booklets "would be particularly instructive in America, for it would make it possible to trace the economic history of that country and her transformation from a land of independent peasants into a centre of modern industry; the text could be supplemented with specific American facts."[1] But this plan was not put into effect.

A major role in popularising *Capital* in the U.S.A. was played by the publication of an abridged version of the book translated into English by Otto Weydemeyer, son of Joseph Weydemeyer, who was prominent in the international revolutionary movement. The translation was first published in instalments in the socialist weekly *Labour Standard* in 1877 and 1878. In 1878 it also appeared in a separate edition in Hoboken, the town where Sorge lived. Excerpts from *Capital* translated by Otto Weydemeyer were published in the Chicago *Socialist* (September 6, 1878) and in the New Haven *Workman's Advocate*.

Engels did not expect that *Capital* would be published in the U.S.A. But the unforeseen happened: a New York publisher reprinted and issued the London edition under his own trademark.

Sorge wrote Engels of this in February 1891, and in the summer of the same year sent him a copy of the New York edition which the latter called a "pirate edition". He probably had in mind the London edition reprinted in New York with the following particulars as to the place and date of publication: "New York, the Humboldt publishing, 1890, XVIII, 506 p."

In a letter to Engels, Hermann Schlüter, a German Social-Democrat who had emigrated to the

[1] *Correspondance, Lettres sur "Le Capital"*, op. cit., p. 353.

U.S.A. in 1889, wrote that, in addition to issuing the book without obtaining official permission from Engels, the publisher of the pirate edition advertised it as a book showing "how to accumulate capital". It was not surprising, therefore, that its edition of 5,000 copies was swiftly sold out in the U.S.A. This made the publisher want to bring out the translation of the other volumes as well.[1]

But even if the publisher did deceive his buyers concerning the content of the book, the speed with which it was bought up should not be ascribed solely to this piece of trickery.

In the opinion of Engels, the English translation of *Capital* was issued "at a suitable moment for America". The developments, which took place in the U.S.A. in the 1880s, were a turning point in the American working-class movement. It mounted steadily, gathered momentum and confidently headed towards the political organisation of the working class into an independent party. It was then that the American Federation of Labour was set up. May 1, 1886, witnessed the historic nation-wide manifestation of American workers for an eight-hour working day.[2]

The 1890s witnessed a fresh wave of mass proletarian actions and another attempt to create a workers' political party in the U.S.A. Hence the increased demand for *Capital*, a book which provided the key to understanding the nature and peculiarities of the capitalist system and showed the historic role of the working class as the builder of socialist society.

---

[1] Schlüter to Engels, May 11, 1891, CPA IML, fund 1, file 5, No. 5187.

[2] In commemoration of the heroic action of American workers, May 1 has become the international holiday of proletarian solidarity.

CONCLUSION

Only the Russian and French translations of Volume I of *Capital* were published during Marx's lifetime.

The Polish edition published in Leipzig was the first translation of the work to appear after his death.

In 1885, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Denmark issued the work in Danish.

Next there appeared the Italian translation which was made without Engels's knowledge or permission. In Italy, as in other countries, *Capital* was initially read in German. Six weeks after the publication of Volume I of the first German edition, an incomplete text of the author's Preface was published in Naples by the organ of the Liberty and Justice Society, whose members were bourgeois democratic Garibaldians.

Extracts from *Capital* were quoted in an article written by member of the International Emilio Covelli (1846-1916) for the *Rivista partenopea* (published in Naples in 1871). The Italian socialist press carried notices about the appearance of separate series of the French edition of *Capital*.

When the complete French edition was issued, Italian socialists—Enrico Bignami from the Turin section of the International, Napoleon La Cecilia, a Communard, and Uriele Cavagnari of Naples—all of whom had met Marx and Engels in the International and corresponded with him, repeatedly attempted to organise the translation of *Capital* into Italian. For four months La Cecilia conducted talks with different publishing houses but was eventually forced to give up when publisher Parroviccino refused to sign an agreement with him. In the newspaper *La Plebe*, of which he was editor, Bignami published materials of the Hague Congress, the Rules and other documents of the International. After the French edition was published he planned to translate *Capital* into Italian and asked Engels for permission. He received it on October 28, 1872, but never made the translation. In 1877, socialist Uriele Cavagnari decided to print the translation at his own expense and sell the book at cost price.[1] But this project also fell through. Newspapers reported that he had intended to issue a "Socialist Library" which would include everything new and interesting in this sphere. The first issue of the series was to include *Capital* in Italian translation.[2] Subsequently *La Plebe* published excerpts from Marx's work.[3]

Two years later, an abridged edition of *Capital* appeared in Italy. The first complete translation was published in Turin in 1886. Engels learned of it in June 1893 from Filippo Turati, a prominent Italian socialist who later sent him a copy of

[1] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 308.

[2] *Annali*, 1958, p. 243.

[3] *La Plebe*, II-III, 1883.

the work for review. Comparing parts from the first and twenty-fourth chapters of the book with the original, Engels saw that the translation was quite close to the text, but was made entirely from the French edition.

Engels received no reply when he asked for the name of the translator. The translation was published in 43 instalments over a period from 1882 to 1884. In 1886 it was published as a part of the "Biblioteca dell' Economista".

In the summer of 1893, Giovanni Domanico, an anarchist who had lived in the U.S.A. for some time, offered to publish a popular edition of *Capital* in Italian.

Considering the Italian edition of *Capital* too expensive and beyond the means of the broad public, Domanico intended to publish it in 60 instalments at 10 centimes each; at this price the whole edition would have cost 6 francs, whereas the 1886 edition was three times as expensive. Learning about this plan from Turati who wrote him on June 1, 1893, Engels sent a diplomatically worded reply in which he enumerated all the difficulties involved in such a responsible job as a good translation and added that it was impossible to use only the French edition as a basis: the translation had to be made from the original, for Italian was better suited to convey the author's philosophical style than the French. Apparently Domanico gave up his project.

The propagandising of *Capital* was also conducted in other Latin countries.

In Spain no small part in helping spread Marxism was played by Paul Lafargue. Fleeing from French reaction, he came to Madrid at the end of 1871 and took part in editing *Emancipacion*, a newspaper which launched a successful cam-

paign in support of the International and against Spanish anarchists. The *Emancipacion* propagandised scientific socialism by regularly printing Marx's and Engels's articles, excerpts from their works, *Capital* included.

On October 26, 1872, the newspaper published Marx's Preface to the first German edition and his letter to Lachâtre, the publisher of the French translation. This issue also informed the readers that the newspaper's distribution department had available instalments of the French edition of *Capital*.[1] In 1873, the newspaper published the Spanish translation of Chapter 4 of the first volume of the work.[2]

Pablo Iglesias, member of the *Emancipacion* editorial staff, who played a prominent part in the Spanish revolutionary movement, and Paul Lafargue undertook to make a complete Spanish translation of *Capital*.[3] But nothing is known about the fate of this translation and whether it was completed.

The first Spanish edition of *Capital* was issued in Madrid in 1886 (the year given on the cover is 1887). It was not a complete translation and contained only 245 pages.

In the Netherlands, there were plans to bring out a Dutch edition of the work in 12 instalments which were to have been published in 1893 and 1894.[4] Only the first instalment of 34 pages appeared in Amsterdam in 1894.

Excerpts from *Capital* were published in many countries where during Marx's and Engels's

---

[1] See *First International*, Part 2 (1870-1876), p. 426 (in Russian).

[2] Ibid.

[3] *Cahiers internationaux*, 1949, N 7-8.

[4] *Vorwärts*, 1889, N 244.

lifetime no complete translation of the work had been issued. While in Switzerland, the Serbian revolutionary democrat Svetozar Markovič, who participated in the work of the Russian section of the First International, read several works by Marx and Engels, which he later propagandised in Serbia. *Capital* was also studied by young Serbians grouped around Markovič who printed an article about the chapter called "The Working Day" in his *Radenik*, the first socialist newspaper in the Balkans.[1]

In 1879, an unknown translator published an abridged version of *Capital* in Serbian which was sent to Marx. Commenting on the work, Marx said that the author had adhered too pedantically to the scientific form of exposition and therefore did not achieve the basic goal—to "impress the broad public for which such publications are intended".[2]

In 1878, the Czech Social-Democratic newspaper *Dělnicke Listy*, whose editors had read the second German edition of Volume I of *Capital* in 1873-1874, in 18 of its issues published a series of extracts from Marx's work, mentioning neither his name nor the names of the translators.[3]

Pancrác Krkoška, the pioneer of the socialist movement in Slovakia, used the pages of the magazine *Rovnost* (published in Brno), of which he was the editor in the 1880s, to acquaint his countrymen with Marx's economic teaching. He believed that it was the task of the Social-Democrats to translate *Capital* and for this purpose organised a fund-raising campaign.[4]

---

[1] See *First International*, Part 2 (1870-1876), p. 515.
[2] *Correspondance, Lettres sur "Le Capital"*, p. 297.
[3] *Knihovna*, 1954, N 1.
[4] J. Dubsky, *Pronikáni marxismu do ceskych zemi*, Praha, 1963, s. 170-171.

The growing influence of the International was conducive to the spread of the works of Marx and Engels in Rumania. Besides the documents of the International, works by Marx and Engels, including the German, Russian and French editions of *Capital*, were published in Rumania in the 1870s.[1]

In the Lenin Museum in Bucharest there are copies of the magazine *Emanciparea*, which were published in 1883 and carried summaries of the first chapters of *Capital*. The magazine also described how Marxism had penetrated into Rumania and how the country's progressives had become conversant with Marx's economic teaching. According to Dobrogeanu-Gherea, one of the first Rumanian socialists, a summary of Marx's economic teaching was published in the 1890s in the *Revista sociale* magazine.

Capital was known not only to workers and progressive intellectuals in Europe and the U.S.A. There is information that in the 1880s, Sen Katayama (later an outstanding leader of the Japanese and international working-class movement) published an article entitled *"Capital" and Its Author Karl Marx* in the Japanese press.[2]

As was the case during the lifetime of Marx and Engels, abridged versions of Volume I of *Capital* are being published today in different languages. According to incomplete data, over 100 editions in 13 languages have been printed to date. The largest number of them are in English, German, Italian and French. Booklets by Paul Lafargue,[3]

---

[1] See *First International*, Part 2 (1870-1876), p. 525.

[2] *La correspondance internationale*, 1933, N 91-92.

[3] K. Marx, *Le Capital. Extraits par Lafargue*, Paris 1893, 176 p.

Gabriel Deville, Karl Kautsky and Carlo Cafiero, which have been translated into many languages, are the most widely read. Editions revised by Deville, the booklet "*Capital*" *and Labour* by anarchist Johann Most and a publication of the same name by the Dutch socialist Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis were in their time sent to Marx for review. A copy of Nieuwenhuis's book (1881) with Marx's notes and corrections is to be found in the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Although Marx made a large number of corrections in the second edition of Most's booklet, it was published with many misprints that sometimes distorted its content. Abridged versions of *Capital* consisting of the first nine chapters of Volume I, translated by Moore and Aveling (from the authorised edition brought out in London in 1887), were published in London in the 1890s in fairly large and good editions.[1]

Among the abridged editions of *Capital* there are those which inadequately disclose its content and are used by some authors for falsification purposes. This applies particularly to modern pocket editions of *Capital* prefaced by B. Kautsky.[2]

The dissemination of Marx's economic teaching was greatly enhanced by the publication of excerpts, parts and chapters from *Capital* in the workers' and socialist press. This was a preparatory stage in making the working masses conversant with Marx's political economy.

At first the workers became acquainted with some propositions advanced in the work and stu-

[1] K. Marx, *Theory of Value. First nine chapters of "Capital"*, London, 1893, 1897.

[2] K. Marx, *Kapital. In Zusammenhang ausgewählt und eingeleitet von B. Kautsky*, Stuttgart, 1957, S. 764.

died the most urgent problems related to surplus-value, the working day, etc. Under conditions obtaining at the time the popularisation of *Capital* was not yet conducted on a mass scale. As Joseph Dietzgen aptly observed, the influence of *Capital* on the workers could be likened to circles that spread in the water after a stone had been thrown into it.

The numerical growth and better organisation of the working class as well as the successes of the working-class and socialist movement in the last three decades of the 19th century created favourable conditions for spreading Marxism. *Capital*, in which Marx revealed the essence of capitalist exploitation and the social, political and spiritual enslavement of the working people and indicated the way and means for emancipation, became a handbook of the revolutionary workers and progressive intelligentsia, the main weapon in their fight against the exploiting system.

Over a century has passed since the memorable day when Marx's *Capital* first saw the light of day. In these years the world witnessed many historical developments and enormous changes in the international, political and socio-economic situation. Yet the ideas of *Capital* have not lost their historic significance. They have passed the test of time and have been confirmed and developed in the course of revolutionary practice.

Socialism, which Marx and Engels transformed from a dream into scientific theory, has become a reality on a considerable part of the globe and is winning ever new positions from the historically doomed system of exploitation. The national liberation movement has been spreading over vast areas of the world, bringing about the collapse of

the colonial system of imperialism. Socialism is exerting increasing influence on mankind's development.

The history of the 20th century irrefutably proves that the ideas which Marx formulated in *Capital* have become a material force of the liberation movement of peoples, and the victorious banner carried aloft by millions fighting for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

Some of the differences between the author- and the text of the fourth German edition

	French edition, Paris, 1872-1875	4th German edition, Hamburg, 1890	Russian translation Works, Vol. 23
1	Part V, ch. XIV	Part V, ch. XIV, pp. 474-475	Part V, ch. XIV, pp. 518-519
2	Part VII, ch. XXIV, pp. 258-259	Part VII, ch. XXII, p. 555	Part VII, ch. XXII, pp. 605-606
3	Part VII, ch. XXIV, p. 267	Part VII, ch. XXII, p. 573	Part VII, ch. XXII, pp. 623-625
4	Part VII, ch. XXV, pp. 173-274	Part VII, ch. XXIII, pp. 585-586	Part VII, ch. XXIII, pp. 635-636
5	Part VII, ch. XXV, pp. 276-277	Part VII, ch. XXIII, pp. 593-594	Part VII, ch. XXIII, p. 643
6	Part XII, ch. XXV, p. 286	Part XII, ch. XXIII, p. 613	Part VII, ch. XXIII, p. 662
7	Part VII, ch. XXV, p. 312	Part VII, ch. XXIV, p. 676	Part VII, ch. XXIII, p. 721
8	Part VII, ch. XXVI, p. 314	Part VII, ch. XXIV, p. 679	Part VII, ch. XXIV, pp. 725-726

ised French edition of Volume I of *Capital* (Russian translation is also indicated)

Alterations or additions

The German text contains conclusions concerning the production of relative surplus-value (more than four paragraphs), which the French text does not have. See Russian translation. p. 518: "Consequently, the production of relative surplus-value. . ." to the words: "Inasmuch as the capitalist system. . ." on p. 519.

Marx himself points out that in the French edition these passages are not given as briefly as in the German original (Works, Vol. 34, p. 33, Russ. ed.). Moreover, the name of Felix Lichńowski, which is mentioned in the text of the original and whom the German readers know as deputy of the Right-wing of the Frankfurt National Assembly, is omitted in the French edition as being of no interest to the French.

In the French text of the section "The So-Called Labour-Fund" the idea that social capital is a variable magnitude is presented differently than in the German original. (In the French edition the text of the section is supplemented by one paragraph.)

The French text contains examples of the growth of industry in England (four paragraphs) and several footnotes to them. In the German original these examples and footnotes are absent.

The French text has an introduction (part of a page) to section 3, while the German and the Russian texts have not.

In the French edition Sismondi's words are supplemented by a quotation from a work of the French economist Cherbuliez, which is not included in the German and Russian texts.

The footnote in the French edition contains a quotation from "*Reports of Factory Inspectors*", describing the material condition of the Irish worker compared with that of the English. The quotation is omitted in the German original, for it is relevant only to the text added to the French edition.

The footnote in the French text contains a quotation from Goethe's *Catechism*, which is not included in the German text.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE EDITIONS OF THE THREE VOLUMES OF "CAPITAL" PUBLISHED DURING THE LIFETIME OF MARX AND ENGELS

GERMAN

Marx, K. Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von Karl Marx. Bd. I. Hamburg, Meissner, 1867. XII, 784 S. 1000.

Bd. I. Buch I. Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals.

Marx, K. Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von Karl Marx. 2. verbesserte Aufl. Bd. I. Hamburg, Meissner, 1872-(1873). XV, 830 S.

Bd. I. Buch I. Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals.

Marx, K. Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von Karl Marx. 3. vermehrte Aufl. Bd. I. Hamburg, Meissner, 1883. XXIII, 808 S.

Bd. I. Buch I. Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals.

Marx, K. Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von Karl Marx. 4. durchgesehene Aufl. Hrsg. von Friedrich Engels.

Bd. I. Hamburg, Meissner, 1890. XXXII, 739 S.

Bd. I. Buch I. Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals.

Marx, K. Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von Karl Marx. Hrsg. von Friedrich Engels. Bd. 2. Hamburg, Meissner, 1885. XXIII, 526 S.

Bd. 2. Buch 2. Der Circulationsprocess des Kapitals.

Marx, K. Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von Karl Marx. Hrsg. von Friedrich Engels. 2. Aufl. Bd. 2. Hamburg, Meissner, 1893. XXVII, 500 S.

Bd. 2. Buch 2. Der Circulationsprocess des Kapitals.

Marx, K. Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Von Karl Marx. Hrsg. von Friedrich Engels. Bd. 3. T. I. Hamburg, Meissner. 1894. XXVIII, 448 S. Bd. 3. T. 2. Hamburg, Meissner, 1894. IV, 422 S.

Bd. 3. Buch 3. Der Gesammtprocess der kapitalistischen Produktion.

RUSSIAN

Marks, K. Kapital. Kritika politicheskoi ekonomii (Capital. A Critique of Political Economy). Translated from the German (H. Lopatin, N. Danielson and N. Lyubavin). Vol. 1. St. Petersburg, N. P. Polyakov, 1872, XIII, 678 pages. 3,000 copies.

Marks, K. Kapital. Kritika politicheskoi ekonomii (Capital. A Critique of Political Economy). By Karl Marx. Translated from the German. Vol. 1, St. Petersburg, N. P. Polyakov, 1872. XIII, 678 pages.

Reprinted in New York (189. . .)

Marks, K. Kapital. Kritika politicheskoi ekonomii (Capital. A Critique of Political Economy). By Karl Marx. Edited by F. Engels. Translated from the German (N. Danielson). Vol. 2, St. Petersburg, 1885, XXII, 403 pages.

Marks, K. Kapital. Kritika politicheskoi ekonomii (Capital. A Critique of Political Economy). By Karl Marx. Edited by F. Engels. Translated from the German (N. Danielson). Vol. 3. (P. 1-2), St. Petersburg, 1896, XLVIII, 734 pages.

FRENCH

Marx, K. Le Capital. Par Karl Marx. Trad. de M. J. Roy, entièrement revisée par l'auteur. (Vol. I). Paris, Lachâtre (1872-1875). 352 p., fig., portr., facs. 10,000.

Marx, K. Le Capital. Par Karl Marx. Trad. de M. J. Roy, entièrement revisée par l'auteur. (Vol. I). Paris, Librairie du progrès, (Oriol), (1885). 352 p., fig., portr., facs. 15,000.
Reprinted in 1872-1875.

POLISH

Marks, K. Kapitał. Krytyka ekonomii politycznej (Przel.: M. Brzeziński, S. Krusiński, L. Krzywicki, J. Siemaszko, K. Plawiński. Pod red. L. Krzywickiego). T. I. Lipsk, E. L. Kasprowicz, 1884-(1890). 326 s.

DANISH

Marx, K. Kapitalen. Kapitalens produktionsprocess Bd. I. København, Udgivet of det social-

demokratiscke Arbeiderparti i Danmark, 1885. 473 S. (Bibliotek Socialistik. Bd. 4).

Marx, K. Kapitalen. Bd. 2. København, Cohen, 1887. 363 S. (Socialistik Bibliotek. Udgivet of det social demokratiscke Arbeiderparti i Danmark. 5 Bd.).

SPANISH

Marx, K. El capital. Traduc. por Pablo Correa y Zafrilla. Madrid, Dionisio de los Rios, 1886. 245 p.
Cover: 1887. Incomplete text.

ITALIAN

Marx, K. Il Capitale. Critica dell'economia politica. Libro 1-mo. In: Raccolta delle piú pregiate opere moderne italiane e straniere di economia politica, diretta dal prof. Gerolamo Boccardo. Torino, 1886. (Biblioteca dell'economista. Serie 3, vol. 9, parte 2, p. 1-685).

ENGLISH

Marx, K. Capital. A critical analysis of capitalist production. Transl. from the 3rd German ed. by S. Moore and E. Aveling and ed. by Frederick Engels. Vol. I. (Part 1-2). London, Sonnenschein, (1887). XXXI, 816 pp. In two volumes.
Published in January 1887.

Marx, K. Capital. A critical analysis of capitalist production. Transl. from the 3rd German ed. by S. Moore and E. Aveling and ed. by Frederick Engels (2 impr.) Vol. I (Part 1-2). London, Sonnenschein, 1887. XXXI, 816 p.

Reprinting of the first ed. in April 1887.

Marx, K. Capital. A critical analysis of capitalist production. Transl. from the 3rd German ed. by S. Moore and E. Aveling and ed. by Frederick Engels. Vol. I. London, Sonnenschein, 1889.

Stereotyped edition in one volume.

Marx, K. Capital. A critical analysis of capitalist production. By Karl Marx. Transl. from the 3rd German ed. by S. Moore and E. Aveling and ed. by Frederick Engels. Vol. I, New York, the Humboldt publishing, (1890), XVIII, 506 p.

Marx, K. Capital. A critical analysis of capitalist production. By Karl Marx. Transl. from the 3rd German ed. by S. Moore and E. Aveling, and ed. by Frederick Engels. 4th ed. Vol. I. London, Sonnenschein, 1891. (On the cover: Half-Guinea international library). XXXI. 816 p.

REQUEST TO READERS

Progress Publishers would be glad to have your opinion of this book, its translation and design and any suggestions you may have for future publications.

Please send all your comments to 21, Zubovsky Boulevard, Moscow, U.S.S.R

Progress Publishers put out the following books in English in 1970:

MARX K. *Capital.* Vol. I

The first volume of *Capital*, which appeared in 1867, contains an analysis of the historical conditions that gave rise to the capitalist social relations. Dominant in the volume is the theory of surplus value which Lenin called the corner-stone of Marx's economic theory. Karl Marx laid bare the mechanism of capital formation and showed that the worker who sells his labour power to the capitalist creates a product whose value is greater than the wages he receives from the capitalist. The latter appropriates the difference between the value of the commodity produced by the worker and his wages, and this forms the source of his profit. Karl Marx also explained the causes of the growth of the workers' exploitation and the antagonistic contradictions between the proletariat and the capitalists which can be solved only by means of the socialist revolution.

The volume is furnished with name and subject indexes.

MARX K., ENGELS F. *Selected Works.* In one volume

This collection includes the most important works and letters of Marx and Engels in which they advance the three component parts of Marxism—Marxist philosophy, political economy and the theory of scientific socialism. Some of Marx's and Engels's works take the form of chapter (cf. Chapter XXXI of *Capital*, Preface to *The Peasant War in Germany* and Introduction to the *Dialectics of Nature*, etc.).

The material is for the most part arranged chronologically. The letters are included in a special section.

The collection has editorial notes and name and subject indexes.